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IS THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE HISTORIC ?

THE term 'historic episcopate' was first used in the celebrated proposals for Church union sent forth by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in connexion with the triennial General Convention of that Church held in Chicago in 1886. The exact words of this platform are worth quoting: 'We desire to express our desire and readiness to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies [word church retained for bodies having the episcopate] seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass. [As minimum conditions the following were proposed.] The Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; the Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith; the two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him; the historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.' This now famous Quadrilateral was reaffirmed by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 (that is, a meeting of all the bishops of the Anglican and related communions throughout the world), and of all the later Lambeth Conferences till 1920, when it was also reaffirmed, though with

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important concessions—which did not, however, change its essence. The question naturally turned on the meaning of the words ‘historic episcopate’ as held by the Greek, Roman, Oriental, and Anglican Churches. Did it mean the episcopal supervision of a third ministerial office as held by the Moravian, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, and other Churches? Did it mean the presbyterial pastoral episcopate, as held by the presbyterially constituted Churches, like Presbyterian, Methodist, and other Churches? Or did it mean the episcopate as represented by the pastor, and co-ordinate with, or under, the whole body of believers, with or without the consenting and advising bond of all sister Churches? Here are four kinds of episcopate, all represented in history and therefore all historic. (I have not mentioned a fifth, viz. the monarchical episcopate as mounting up into the papacy, by which alone it finds its sanction and control, its justification and necessary limitation. This episcopate has also been sufficiently historic, God knows.)

The meaning of the words ‘historic episcopate’ was, then, the first thing in order. But it soon came out from authoritative sources that the term applied to that form of episcopate which the Protestant Episcopal Church herself had—that is, the so-called monarchical episcopate, of a distinct and higher order than presbyters, without which there could be no Church, for without ordination of deacons and presbyters by these bishops there could be no ministry. The last article of the Quadrilateral, therefore, meant that all Protestant Churches had no standing as Churches; that, however religiously valid, they were ecclesiastically invalid; and that no Church union could be thought of until Protestant clergy were reordained by Protestant Episcopal bishops.

We shall not stop to point to the arrogance of appropriating the word historic to only one type of the five different kinds of episcopate, each one of which can fairly claim a

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long possession of a part of the historic field. Leaving that, it only remains to ask, Has the monarchical third-order episcopate been the only episcopate known in all ages, or if not the only one, yet so generally and universally known in all ages that it can be called historic *par excellence*, *the* historic episcopate ?

1. It did not exist in the apostolic age, which is certainly an interesting segment of history. We have, indeed, oversight by apostles, pastors, elders, though always in connexion with each other and with 'the brethren' (the later so-called laity), never as one class over another. We do not, for instance, have oversight of bishops over elders and over Churches, as in the modern episcopate. And there is no more 'assured result' of New Testament study than that bishops in the New Testament are synonymous with elders or presbyters. Comparison of Acts xx. 17 with verse 28, 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2 with iv. 14 and v. 1 and 17 [remembering that he describes only two classes of Church officers, bishops (= elders; see v. 1, 17) and deacons], and Titus i. 5 with verse 7, will show that elder and bishop are substantially or entirely identical; that they were one and the same, or vanished into each other across invisible lines. This is so evident that I think there is no historical scholar in the world, who has regard for reality, who denies this result. Even the more impartial Roman and Anglican Catholics do not deny it. There is nothing plainer on the face of the New Testament than that there was no hierarchy there, no separate bishops lording it over God's heritage; that even the apostles did not act as rulers in the later ecclesiastical sense. A part of our difficulty comes from the false translations of the King James version, which disappear when once you turn to the Greek. The word ordination in its later meaning, for instance, vanishes from the New Testament. The idea of turning a layman into a clergyman by a special consecration did not exist in the New Testament, nor did the laying on of hands have the

modern meaning. It was the Jewish symbol of blessing and of prayer, and might be the accompaniment of any mission or journey. The word 'rule' will also go as referring to ministers. The idea was absolutely forbidden by Christ, and when you look into your Greek Testament you will find a thought not quite so monarchical. For instance, instead of reading, 'Obey them that have the rule over you,' you will read, 'Be persuaded by those who lead you.' But you say, Could the King James version be so unreliable? Oh, yes. In fact, it was made under conditions which rendered impossible a true translation. The translators were ordered to keep all the ecclesiastical terms, and make no changes in the customary Church words. I do not say that James or the translators consciously 'doctored' the English text to deceive, but their result was exactly that. Fortunately the most of that is done away in the Revised Version, especially in the American Standard Revision, though not all. In any case, a section of history not to be despised—the apostolic age—was without the monarchical episcopate. So far it is not historic. On the other hand, nobody denies that there were elders in that age, who were overseers in the sense of having duties now administrative, now judicial, now teaching or preaching, and who were therefore the genuine forerunners of our ministers. So far the presbyterial ministry is historic.

2. The first witness after the apostles is Clement of Rome, 97, in the Epistle of the Church in Rome to the Church in Corinth. The latter Church had deposed their ministry, apparently on account of an eruption of the younger men against the older (in former times 'ye rendered to the older men among you the honour which is their due'; sec. 1). The holy and benevolent Clement argues against this, says that everything should be done in order and seemliness, ministers should not be deposed without cause, and cites numerous Old Testament examples of insubordination, of punishment for it, of exhortations

to peace and amity, speaks of the fact that the apostles did not appoint ministers in a helter-skelter way, but in decent order, &c. Incidentally, he gives proof that at 97 or 98, whether at Rome or Corinth, the episcopate had not developed into the later third-order monarchical stage. Bishops are still synonymous with elders or presbyters. 'So, preaching everywhere in country and town, they (apostles) appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion ; for, indeed, it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times ; for thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith ' (Isa. lx. 17) (42). In section 44 you will see that bishops are used synonymously with presbyters or elders :

And our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office (he uses the word name here in the Oriental sense of the thing itself). For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore that were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their administration. For it will be no light sin for us if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before (referring to the same officers, viz. those who had died previous to these disturbances in Corinth), seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe ; for they have no fear lest any one should remove them from their appointed place. For we see ye have displaced certain persons, though they have lived honourably, from the ministration

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which had been respected by them blamelessly (44, Lightfoot's translation).

Here it is evident that presbyters and bishops are used synonymously, as in the New Testament. So in section 47 ('reported that the very steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians maketh sedition against its presbyters'), 54 ('let the flock of Christ be at peace with its duly appointed presbyters'), 57 ('ye that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters'), and 63 ('take our side with them that are leaders of our souls').

3. Let us now turn back from Rome and Corinth to Asia Minor, and turn forward ten or twenty years to about 117. In the towns or little cities of Asia Minor things went more rapidly, as they do in America. They were a restless and nervous population; the whole country was seething with new ideas, stirred by itinerant prophets of new cults, and some of these preachers and wandering fakirs were none too pure in conduct, so that both the religious and moral life of the Christians was in danger of dissolution, a danger based in first instance on the doctrinal slipperiness of the Gnostic, Mithraic, Isic, and other Oriental teachers. For this reason the Church leaders saw that organization must be made tighter, the reins of control kept tauter, and more responsibility placed on approved men. Certain elders, therefore, who had shown themselves competent for effective administration, perhaps able presidents of the elders or of Church meetings, were little by little advanced to positions of special oversight, until about 110-117 they were distinguished from elders and called overseers or bishops. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, in his letters to these Churches (about 110-117), is so concerned to keep the latter free from being entangled by the Christian Science of those days that he exhorts the members to be sure to keep in with their bishops, whom he distinguishes from presbyters as a third officer (whether a third

order there is no light). I cannot quote all the passages, but it is not necessary, as they are all variations of the one theme: Stand by your bishop, obey your bishop. 'Be ye zealous to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the likeness of God and the presbyters after the likeness of the council of the apostles, with the deacons who are most dear to me, having been entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the world and appeared at the end of time. . . . Let there be nothing among you which shall have power to divide you, but be ye united with the bishop, and with them that preside over you as an ensample and lesson of incorruptibility' (Ign., *ad Magn.* 6). There is no theory of the bishop's office, no apostolical succession (so far as there is any succession from apostles it belongs to presbyters); the bishop is simply there providentially in God's place, to be the bond of union over against disintegrating doctrines. The author takes the fact of this advanced stage of organization in the Asia Churches for granted, uses it to fight the heretics, but says nothing against the previous presbyterial organization as invalid, recognizing that inasmuch as there are now separate overseers the presbyters fit in with the bishops as the strings with the harp.

There is an entirely different strain, however, when he writes to the Romans. There the Church had not advanced so fast, and bishops as a distinct third office had not been set in. In his letter to the Romans, therefore, there is no mention of bishops. And as the Roman Church was not troubled with the Asiatic itch for new doctrines, there is no exhortation to keep in harmony with their leaders. (I take for granted the genuineness of Ignatius's Seven Shorter Greek Epistles, in spite of the book of Dr. Killen, *The Epistles of Ignatius Entirely Spurious*, Edinburgh, 1886. The question is not settled, but the weightier reasons are for genuineness.)

4. In the city of Philippi as late as about 150 there is no

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trace of the bishop in the High sense. We have Polycarp's letter to the brethren there, and he gives to each class of officers the appropriate exhortations. He tells (sec. 5) what class of men the deacons should be, as well as the younger men and the virgins. They should 'submit themselves to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ' (5), with no mention of bishops. In section 6 he describes the model presbyters in a fine way, a description as true to-day as in 150; but he says nothing of bishops, nor of the duty of presbyters to submit to bishops. The European Churches were not as feverish as those of Asia Minor. They made haste slowly. If, then, the germ of the Catholic episcopate was in existence ('historic') in Asia Minor, by, say, 110-117, it was not in Macedonia in Europe in 150.

5. Our search for that high-sounding thing, the historic episcopate, up to 150 has not been very successful. In December, 1883, Bryennios, metropolitan of Nicomedia of the Greek Church, published in Constantinople a precious document which he had discovered in 1873, but had not had time to study and edit till ten years after. In 1884-85 numerous editions appeared in Europe and America, and it soon became one of the best-known documents of the early Church. It was the famous *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*. It treats deliberately though briefly of Church rules, officers, sacraments, &c., and therefore is the very book we are looking for. It was written probably in Syria, possibly in Egypt, as it presupposes a land where copious running streams of water were not common (sec. 7). Its date is about 125. It treats of apostles and prophets (11), of those who came in the name of the Lord (12), and of bishops and deacons (15), but not elders. This shows that in its region well along in the second century the office of oversight, as in the primitive Church, was called either bishop, as in this territory, or elder, or both, as in apostolic times in Ephesus, or later in Corinth and Rome. 'Appoint for yourselves, therefore, bishops and deacons, worthy of

the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved; for unto you they also perform the service of prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are your honourable men along with the prophets and teachers' (15). That is all. Apostles are still going on, and not yet absorbed in bishops, as Catholic theory presupposes; prophets and teachers are in honour, and more is said of them; but bishops (- elders) and deacons are not ignored, but must be respected, though they are dispatched in four or five lines. The so-called historic episcopate was not yet.

6. Between 100 and 140—very likely about 140—appeared what has been called the *Pilgrim's Progress* of the early Church, the celebrated Shepherd or Pastor of Hermas, and in Rome. According to Muratorian Canon (about 175), its author, Hermas, was the brother of Pius, bishop or head presbyter of Rome (about 140–155). The book had a wide circulation, and was looked upon by some as quasi-canonical. Its light on Church organization agrees with what we get from other sources of the late development of the (separate) episcopate in Rome. Names and offices were not yet distinctly differentiated.

Thou shalt therefore say unto the rulers [leaders, *προηγονμένοις*] of the Church that they direct their paths in righteousness (*Vis.* ii. 2). The aged woman [the Church] came and asked me if I had already given the book to the elders. . . . Thou shalt send one [book] to Clement [probably the head presbyter] and one to Grapte [probably a deacon]. So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty; while Grapte shall instruct the widows and orphans. But thou [Hermas, a layman] read [the book] to this city along with the elders who preside over the Church (ii. 4). The stones that are squared and white and fit together in their joints are apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons, who walked after the holiness of God, and exercised their office of bishop and teacher and deacon in purity and sanctity (iii. 5). [Here bishops are plainly the same as the 'elders who preside over the Church']

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of the other passage.] I say unto you that are rulers [literally, leaders] of the Church and that occupy the chief seats (iii. 9). [For description of the prophet see *Mand.* 11.] Apostles and teachers who preached unto the whole world, and who taught the word of the Lord in soberness and purity, and kept back no part at all for evil desire, but walked always in righteousness and truth, even as they also received the Holy Spirit. Such therefore shall have their entrance with the angels (*Sim.* ix. 25). Bishops, hospitable persons, who gladly received unto their houses at all times the servants of God without hypocrisy (ix. 27).

It is evident, then, that in Rome (probably 140) we have as yet no developed or High Church episcopate. Prophets and apostles are still going forth; the leaders are called elders or bishops indiscriminately, or simply 'leading ones,' and the whole situation is congruous with the inchoate organization of early times.

7. Justin Martyr, the philosophical Christian, whose writings are inestimable (1 *Apol.* about 138-9, 2 *Apol.* about 160, *Dial. with Trypho* about 150), gives us the same impression as the second-century writers already mentioned, viz. that Church polity had not yet settled down to the Catholic High form, to the monarchial episcopate. In the eucharist the bread, cup of water, and krama are brought 'to the president of the brethren' (1 *Apol.* 65), not officially called bishop yet (as a well-known designation to heathen, as it later became), who 'verbally instructs and offers prayers and thanksgivings,' a portion of the food being sent to the absent by deacons. By the year 250 the bishop was such a well-known character that every heathen knew that he was the chief officer in the Church; but by 150, when Justin wrote, though there were officers distinct from presbyters in some Churches, the bishop could hardly have been known outside of Christian circles, as Justin has to use a general expression—president of the brethren—in writing a book intended for heathen readers. The bishop was a new officer.

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8. We close with the important testimony of Irenaeus. He was born perhaps about 115 in the province of Asia, was the pupil of Polycarp and other sub-apostolic men there, probably accompanied his master Polycarp on his journey to Rome between 150 and 160, remained in Rome for some time as a Christian teacher, then went to Gaul, returned to Rome on an embassy in 177, succeeded Pothinus about 178 as Bishop of Lyons, and died after 190. His great work *Against Heresies* ('Exposure and Refutation of Falsely-Called Science'—or knowledge) was written between 180 and 189, and by that time the episcopate had become historic in the High sense, though not without echoes and survivals of the long evolution in which it was historic only in germ.

Irenaeus was anxious to get some other test than Scripture to refute the Gnostics, since they had their own interpretation of Scripture, and, besides, made it void by claiming a secret tradition from the apostles. To accomplish this he refers to the tradition of apostolic teaching handed down in the apostolic sees (bishoprics which he takes as established directly or indirectly by apostles), testified to by the bishops of those sees. The testimonies of these bishops are a secondary source of genuine Christian teaching as witnessed to by apostles, the primary being Scripture. This succession of bishops rests upon the apostles, as they started it, though he does not say that such a succession is necessary to the ministry. But it has existed, and it is a guarantee of the correctness of the Church's teaching, as over against Gnosticism.

Hyginus, who held the ninth place in Rome in the episcopal succession from the apostles downwards (1.27, 1). It is within the power of all, therefore, in every Church who may wish to see the truth to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world. And we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the Churches, and the succession of these men to our own times: those

who neither taught nor knew of anything like what these [Gnostics] rave about (8.3, 1). The faith preached to men which comes down to our time by means of the successions of bishops (8.3, 2). [Polycarp . . . was appointed by apostles in Asia Bishop of the Church in Smyrna (3.3, 4). Polycarp was martyred in 155 or 166 (date disputed), but if we assume he was bishop or head presbyter for forty years—a large assumption, as it was customary to elect as chief officers in the Church men of advanced age—115 or 126 would be far too late to be appointed by the last of the apostles, John, who probably died about the years 85–95]. Now all these (Gnostics) are of much later date than the bishops to whom the apostles committed the Churches (5.20, 1).

Now although we know that, following Jewish custom, the apostles wanted the Churches to elect elders, and although Paul desired elders (=bishops) to be elected in Crete, it is a far cry from that to the statement of Irenaeus that the apostles committed the Churches to bishops. That is gratuitous, except in the sense that the apostles favoured decent oversight. As to a succession of bishops, no doubt when one officer died another was elected, but a succession of officers as guaranteeing validity of ordination ('apostolic succession') was unknown in the early Church. Besides, the lists of bishops contain omissions, and are of no critical value, though from the close of the second century on those lists were kept in the churches. See Lipsius, *Chronologie der romischen Bischöfe*, 1869.

We can say, therefore, that in 180–190, bishops as a distinct office (whether as a distinct order is another question) existed throughout the Roman Empire, though Irenaeus also bears unconscious witness that ten years or so before the third century the evolution had not gone on so far as to extinguish the memory of the older time, when presbyters or elders were the same as bishops, or, to put it in other words, when the presiding minister was a presbyter.

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When we refer them [Gnostics] to that tradition which originates from the apostles, which is preserved by means of a succession of presbyters in the Churches, they object to tradition, saying that they themselves are wiser not merely than the presbyters, but even than the apostles, because they have discovered the unadulterated truth (8.2, 2). [The Gnostics in this have in our own day many successors.] Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church—those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the apostles ; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate (or oversight), have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father (4.26, 2). Those, however, who are believed to be presbyters by many, but serve their own lusts, . . . and are puffed up with the pride of holding the chief seat (4.26, 3). Those, therefore, who desert the preaching of the Church [he had spoken in the previous section of the ' bishops to whom the apostles committed the Churches '], call in question the knowledge of the holy presbyters (4.20, 2). (Translation of Roberts, Rambaut, and others, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*.)

We cannot say, therefore, that the historic episcopate of the Lambeth bishops—the monarchical episcopate of the Greek, Roman, and High Anglican Churches—is historic in the sense intended, that it is in the clear field of history, as ousting the older presbyterial tradition, even up to within hailing distance of the third century.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANATOLE FRANCE

ZOLA, who was an unwholesome author, once wrote a book in which he painted an almost revolting portrait of the French peasantry. Anatole France condemned the book with unbridled severity, and gave vent to a sentence which was one of the few professions of faith he ever made. 'I end by thinking,' he said, 'that a lack of taste is that mysterious sin spoken of in the Scriptures as the greatest sin—the only one that can never be forgiven.' Anatole France could dare to say that. He counted taste above virtue. Good taste was his religion, the altar at which he worshipped; good taste was the spiritual element of all his poetical and literary activity; good taste was that which he admired most in ancient Greece and Rome, and which unceasingly inspired his love of former grace and former virtue; good taste was the rock upon which was founded his high culture and amazing erudition. He acclaimed it with a pleasure to which he delighted to give expression in his works of criticism; he spared none of his contemporaries whose writings betrayed its absence. He found men bad, life cruel, the progress of civilization a mere cycle of growth and decline; and so he lived outside that world, in a realm of taste. He built his own Paris, where the Pepinière still stood, with its 'alleys running in labyrinths among the shrubs, bordered by green trellis,' and where he still found 'an ivy-covered wall, a mossy well, and a statue of Flora, headless though smiling still.' This was France's world—a world of images, where reality was what should have been, and where verse and legend replaced history. He drank at the wells of deepest thought and climbed to the peaks of loftiest idealism; his soul, to use his own words, wandered among the masterpieces.

Surrounded, then, in his thoughts only by what he loved,

he viewed the human world with pity. He saw what might have been ; and, because he loved humanity, because to him humanity seemed bound, like Fredegond, to a beast which dragged it bleeding across the sandy wilderness of error, he pitied it, even patronized it. It seemed an inexorable law of life that men should act in bad taste. They could not help it—such was their nature ; there was no one to blame but their creator. Nothing in the long evolution of the world—and he had studied it in all the books a man could read within the span of eighty years—nothing seemed to indicate any hope of final redemption. Man came out from living in a cave, ignorant and without desire, seeking only to feed and to sustain his body. The world was then indeed a garden, where innocence walked barefoot among a great abundance. The poisoned apple there was reason, whose seeds were envy and self-consciousness ; and, having eaten that, man thought and wondered, and desired to know, and feel, and have. And so a man engendered men, and abundance became a lack to those whose knowledge and whose strength was small and undeveloped, and science, child of jealousy, became the idol of humanity. Possession and Power really were the gods, and Science served them as a minor god, and Justice was enthroned as viceroy to protect their rights. And thus men thought to build and fought to destroy. Science grew more vast, civilizations arose more mighty from the ashes of those burnt out, and knowledge made a grasp to seize the universe, and to lay on heads of men the crown of gods. Vanity of vanities ! the sun grew cooler—nothing more ; and all the knowledge and the frenzied thought of men could never heat but their own useless brains. Death swept over all the world, and the last of those he spared retired back into their aboriginal caves, there to keep up life on the few remaining stumps of wood. The circle is completed, and the whole thing vain. No wonder that Anatole France withdrew into his house of images, and

pitied men, and wrote of most he saw around with irony and sad cynicism. He had no faith in God—how could he when he saw things thus?

Anatole France was an atheist, therefore. He could deduce from a study of the world no possible proof of a divine element in man; and in consequence he regarded any form of survival after death as most improbable. If God existed, if outside the realms of human activity was any form of supernatural life, no contact between the two ever had been, and so probably ever could be, established. He looked upon religious speculation and belief as nothing more than an admission by men of their own ignorance, and the Roman Catholic Church he stigmatized as the 'age-long exterminator of all thought, knowledge, and pleasure.' Miracles proved nothing more than the close limitations of our own science; for, he argued, how can we attribute any phenomenon to supernatural causes while we still are groping in the darkest ignorance of what is natural? He pictured, in his satirical way, the universe as a drop of water on which men and women move as infinitesimal bacteria, and in which the stars and planets were but atoms rotating in courses fixed by the laws of hydrostatics. Outside this drop of water is space, proportionately as large as is our universe to a raindrop on the window-pane. How can we, so little, so unimportant, comprehend the immensity of our environment? What, then, is the use of trying? Why deny ourselves of what we have, in idle thought of what we may get later on? The attitude of Anatole France toward the world and God was much like the dog with meat in his mouth looking at his shadow in the water below, but preferring, contrary to the fable, the present to the visionary benefit. If God there be, He gave us what we have to enjoy, and our desire for greater happiness robs us of such as we have at hand.

The naturalism for which Anatole France has been both so sternly condemned and so eagerly relished is the almost

inevitable outcome of such negation of man's spiritual element. Yet this naturalism was invariably psychologically exact. Anatole France never erred in marking the logical course of instinctive actions. Elodie Blaise in *Les Dieux ont Soif*, the Dominican monk in the story of Dona Maria (*Le Puits de Sainte Claire*), or Lacrisse in *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris* are as true to life as any characters in literature. They may be disagreeable, but so are many things in life; and, if one is to take into account all that acts and reacts in human society, these things cannot be omitted from the portrait. Anatole France can be relied upon not to have designed these characters with his tongue in his cheek. Naturalism is not sensualism, and Anatole France was a greater man than Byron. He did more than any one, with the possible exception of Barrès, to purge French literature of mere sensualism. He hated it because it was bad taste, because it was unbeautiful, and because it was a prostitution of art. But he did not fail to see that desire, the curse of human nature, could not but lead to situations of hopeless immorality; and in order to make clear his philosophy, Epicurean in this respect, he was compelled to take examples from actual life. Was his puppet a bourgeois of the Revolution, or a monk who spied at the bedchamber of a noble lady, or a royalist intriguer in the days of President Loubet, its action was nicely suited to the scene, its dress the fashion of the period, and its part essential to a full development of the plot. It was the talent of Anatole France to penetrate beyond the purview of the ordinary historian; it was his good fortune, and ours, that he had the courage to bring to light just what he saw, even though it were the badness of men, and to show how much the seeming minor weaknesses of human nature were the subtle causes of great events.

No writer ever had a greater love of what is beautiful, or ever more serenely told of those who found where beauty lay. *Thais* might have sprung from early Christian legend;

or the Leuconoë, of his too little known poetry of youth, who, tired of earthly loves, stands

Solitaire, du fond de sa détresse,
Tendant au ciel son âme et ses ardentes mains,
Elle cherche, dans l'air du soir qui la caresse,
De plus tendres Esprits et des Dieux plus humains.

Elle voudrait savoir dans quelle ombre divine,
Sous quel palmier mystique, en quel bras endormi,
Brille l'Enfant céleste et doux qu'elle devine
Le Maître souhaité, l'incomparable Ami.

The animal exists in human nature, and France must tell of it if the course of history is to be explained. But no one knew more surely than he that this same nature, inspired, equipped with wings of love, can soar aloft to realms of purity and beauty, where the only atmosphere is the breath of God Himself. He felt the breezes of this high air blow fresh upon his mind, and knew in his imagination how soft and desirable they were. And yet he seemed to linger down below himself, and gaze with almost wistful eyes at those who took their flight. He seems to speak himself when Lamia dreams aloud of Mary Magdalene (*L'Etui de Nacre*) : 'I used to know a Jewess of Jerusalem, who, on the rough carpet of a low tavern, by the light of a meagre, smoky lamp, danced, with arms up-raised to strike her cymbals. Her arching spine, her head thrown back as though it yielded to the weight of her dark auburn hair: vibrant yet languorous, supple—even Cleopatra would have envied her. I loved those savage dances, her voice a little husky and yet so soft, the fragrance of her incense, the dreaminess in which she seemed to live. I used to follow her everywhere. And then one day she disappeared, and I never saw her more. I looked for her for days, in all the streets and inns of ill-repute. And then, months afterwards, I learnt by chance that she had joined a little band of men and women, disciples of a Galilean teacher. His name was Jesus, and he came from Nazareth.' One feels that he might well have followed Jesus too, if it

had happened that some wise Philip had come and fetched this sceptical Nathaniel.

His earlier work is full of this idealism, which is almost mysticism sometimes. He used to say that he had tried to place a bench beneath each shady tree to mark the beauty-spots in the great park of life, so that the weary traveller might rest awhile to meditate the scene. The benches that he has placed are most exquisitely carved, and are an ornament to European literature. If sometimes, in passing, he points to thorny shrubs and rocky, arid parts, his signs are cynic epitaphs and not direction-posts.

But a change came upon Anatole France after he had passed his fiftieth year, a change which seemed to deaden all the mystic in him and turn him to a harder materialism. The change was wrought by the public revision at Rennes of the *Affaire Dreyfus*. Until then he had not only kept away from active politics, but had even refused to give any opinion upon the Dreyfus judgement. The original trial was conducted *in camera*, and Anatole France would take no part in the violent agitation which was surging in Paris as a result of this famous case. In his earlier days Anatole France was more inclined to conservatism. He loathed the Revolution, and he thought that the government of a country was best left in the hands of those who by heredity were born to govern; he considered the police as indispensable to good order, and, though he hated war, he considered that the army was necessary to ensure public security. 'Supprimez les vertus militaires,' he said in his preface to Goethe's *Faust*, 'et toute la société civile s'écroule.' Then the intricate intrigues behind the Dreyfus case came to light, and all his admiration and respect for authority seemed shattered in a moment. There is little need to recall the details of the case, and France's own attitude is set forth in striking irony in Part IV. of his *L'Ile des Pingouins*. His politics swung hard over to the Left, and there they remained until his dying day.

Nevertheless, whatever may have wrought the change, his communistic views were the inevitable conclusion of his earlier philosophy. He had always urged that Justice was but an abstract name for law. There was nothing moral in it; it only served to uphold the right of private property. Again, if, as he said, desire was the formidable impediment to human happiness, the first and obvious step to ensure that happiness was the removal, as far as might be, of the objects of desire—wealth and possession, and that yearning for a knowledge we can never have which we call religion. Many of his friends and lovers of his work have sought to excuse his final outlook, to mitigate its extremeness, even to deny that it was anything but feigned. But such folk, unawares, detract from the glory of their idol; for what was admirable in France was that, being forced to the final evolution of his philosophy, he had the courage to stand by his convictions even when they led to calumny and to ostracism. Anatole France may have been the 'bénédictin narquois' in his earlier days; he may have loved his books and contemplative life; but his greatest moral victory was when he left his quiet and free retreat to preach abroad the doctrines which he felt were true.

Shall France be judged for his opinions of governments and the Roman Church? Shall he be condemned for seeing far and prophesying aloud? Or shall the beauty of his work, his love of men, be our criterion? Whatever be the verdict now, Time will prune the garden of that park where France set benches; and through its vistas we shall see another tree, beneath whose shade another hand has set a seat—a tree which, having weathered many storms, retains its *vie en fleur*. And just outside that park, hard by a clearing in the hedge through which France entered and to which he turned when driven out by death, a little sculptured statue stands, unknown to most. It bears the name of Thibault, France's mother.

DANIEL WISEMAN.

THE ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION¹

THE general acceptance of the theory of evolution in the nineteenth century led, not only to an immense output of work in biology, but to an equally extensive study of the development of human society. In the main it was taken for granted that human institutions were the product of physical conditions, and that there was a general tendency to progress from a lower and simpler to a higher and more elaborate social order, along more or less parallel lines determined by the innate faculties of the human mind. Thus any example of a low culture was assumed to be truly primitive, and the evidence of widespread degradation of culture was very much ignored, as well as that of the intermixture of cultures. For instance, it was taken for granted that the elaborate civilization of the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas in America had arisen in entire independence of that of Egypt or Sumer in the Old World. Sir Edward Tylor wrote: 'It is now certain that there has ever been an inherent tendency in man, allowing for difference of climate and material surroundings, to develop culture by the same stages and in the same way. American man, for example, need not necessarily owe the minutest portion of his mental, religious, social, or industrial development to remote contact with Asia or Europe, though he were proved to possess identical usages.'

The error here is that race and culture are confused. Culture may be transmitted from race to race. 'There may be profound changes in language, religion, customs,

¹ W. H. R. Rivers: *History of Melanesian Society, History and Ethnology*; C. Elliot Smith: *Migrations of Early Culture, The Evolution of the Dragon, The Ancient Egyptians*, art., 'Anthropology,' *Enc. Brit.*, New Vols.; W. J. Perry: *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia, The Children of the Sun, The Origin of Magic and Religion, The Growth of Civilization*.

and crafts, with little or no alteration in the racial characteristics of a population.' This is a process going on in our own times with extraordinary rapidity, and it must be recognized also as a most important factor of ancient history. Such a case as that of the step-pyramid is crucial. It is a highly elaborate technical achievement, with definite religious ideas behind it. It is almost impossible to suppose that it was evolved spontaneously in a dozen different parts of the world. And when we find it in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Ceylon, Java, Tahiti, Peru, and Mexico, the age decreasing roughly with the distance from Egypt, we seem to be on the track of a migration of culture. The alternative is, to quote Elliot Smith, 'that man had a pyramid-building instinct, which presumably was kept in check by the vast majority of mankind, but burst its bounds in a chronological sequence among the peoples scattered along the coasts from Egypt to Central America.'

In this country a more fruitful method of ethnological research was advocated by the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, in an address to the British Association at Plymouth in 1911, which was followed up by various works, notably his *History of Melanesian Society*. The newer method is historical and analytical. The various strands of culture in any district are separated, and their history traced. In the hands of Elliot Smith, W. J. Perry, and others, brilliant results have been attained, of which a partial outline is here attempted. The main thesis is that civilization is a single organic unity, whose growth can now be traced with fair certainty from a single historical source, and that source is Egypt.

A great deal of information has recently come to hand, without which such a generalization could not have been confidently made. There is now a fair amount of agreement in matters of chronology, and proof that the earliest Elamitic and Sumerian cultures are secondary to the Egyptian. There is evidence for the origin of agriculture

by means of irrigation, and that in the Nile valley ; also that in Egypt copper tools were first used—both events of momentous importance in the history of the race. Lastly, there is the anatomical evidence of the wide diffusion of men of proto-Egyptian type.

We have to do with an immense amount of evidence, of a very varied character, of the world-wide migrations of an archaic and complex culture—a complicated key to open a complicated lock. It is not to be wondered at that the theory has met with much opposition ; yet constantly discoveries are being made which admit of no other explanation. In certain parts of San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, east of New Guinea, people of the ruling class make mastaba tombs of definite Egyptian type, of the Pyramid Age, in which the mummified body is placed. Above the mastaba is a dolmen containing a portrait-statue in Egyptian style. Another kind of mummification is practised by natives of islands in the Torres Straits, which, according to Elliot Smith, shows the technique of the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty. In Central America, at Copan, one of the earliest Maya cities, there are carvings of Indian elephants. In North America a rock-painting has been found of a dragon matching in all its details some of the bizarre monsters of China. No theory of independent development fits such facts as these. 'The idea of universal, steady, continual upward cultural progress must be given up, once for all, as contrary to patent facts.' An outline of the general evidence may begin with a reference to the widespread occurrence of megalithic monuments. These—dolmens, menhirs, stone-circles, &c.—have always attracted attention, especially as they are so often found amongst peoples who are now quite incapable of any such works. Many of them testify to great engineering skill. They are scattered over a large extent of the earth. They are found in many places in the British Islands and Western Europe, and in parts of Africa. They

are strung out across the whole breadth of Central Asia. They are numerous in India and Indonesia, and in islands all over the Pacific. They are found in Peru, Yucatan, Mexico, and in the south and east of the United States. This diffusion is irregular and sporadic, and needs explanation. The thesis of Elliot Smith is that these stone monuments are not really the most primitive stages in the evolution of architecture, but are 'crude copies of the more finished and earlier monuments of the Pyramid Age in Egypt, made in foreign countries by workmen who lacked the skill and the training of the makers of the Egyptian prototypes.' The proof of this theory centres round the structure of the dolmen, and is too full and detailed to be considered here. It is also argued that the builders of the megalithic monuments were acquainted with the use of metals, which fact would also bring them within the range of Egyptian influence.

Another line of evidence goes to show that throughout the world the surviving traces of ancient agriculture consist of irrigation-works. These are found in a great many places, long ago abandoned, though in many places still maintained. They are almost always associated with megalithic monuments, and not otherwise, so that there seems to be some connexion between the two. Now there is no reason, in the nature of things, why irrigation-works should accompany megalithic monuments, but they can be accounted for if the same people brought them both. In this case, again, a quite independent argument brings us to Egypt as the first source of irrigation. Professor T. Cherry has shown that the Nile valley, alone of great river-systems, possesses a perfect natural system of irrigation. The sources of supply are such that there is a steady main flow during the greater part of the year, and that the Nile flood, having a great way to come, only reaches Egypt at the end of the hot summer. When it comes it finds the seeds dormant, preserved from mould by the dry climate,

and causes quick germination. The crops ripen in the equable winter weather, and the cycle is repeated. All that is needed here of human invention is to carry the water a little farther afield, and from this a system of irrigation would easily develop. The important thing would be to know exactly when to expect and prepare for the coming of the flood. As a rival centre of origin, the Euphrates valley has nothing to show like this. In natural conditions the flood comes down in early summer, and the seeds which germinate are shrivelled up in the great heat which follows. Nature does not point the way here, as in the Nile valley; but, a system having been once developed under the guidance of Nature, it could be adapted to different conditions, not only in river-valleys, but on the terraced steps of hills. Here, then, we have two independent lines of evidence converging on Egypt, and nowhere else.

Take as a third trait of culture the practice of mummification. Here, again, mummification has nothing whatever to do, by way of causal connexion, either with the method of irrigation or with megalithic monuments, and yet the three practices are found all over the same region in the closest association. There is nowhere to which anyone would look for the origin of mummification but to Egypt, where bodies buried in the hot, dry sand of a rainless climate are naturally preserved. Bodies so interred six thousand years ago are still in a practically perfect state of preservation. Under such conditions it can be understood how it came to be considered that it was of supreme importance that they should be so preserved, in as nearly as possible the form of life. When, in connexion with the invention of copper tools, an immense development of tomb-building became practicable, a new problem would arise. The bodies of princes and nobles, now removed from the natural conditions of mummification, must be preserved whole and perfect by artificial means, and so gradually the intricate technique of the art was built up,

along with the search for the materials required for it. Whenever, therefore, we find an association of three such dissimilar and highly specialized elements of culture, we may well conclude the presence of an archaic civilization, originally derived from Egypt. But the whole story is by no means told. The culture thus designated proves to be of a highly complex character, the outstanding features of which may now be tabulated. They are : (1) Agriculture by irrigation ; (2) Work in stone, pyramids, dolmens, stone-circles, rock-cut tombs, and other forms ; (3) Stone images ; (4) Pottery ; (5) Metal-working ; (6) Pearl-fishing ; (7) Polished stone implements, the neolithic craft ; (8) A ruling class in two divisions : (a) Children of the sun, of semi-divine origin, connected with the sky-world, who practise incestuous unions, and (b) A ruling class not of divine origin, connected with the underworld, who survive as war-chiefs ; (9) Various forms of a Sun-cult ; (10) The practice of mummification ; (11) The cult of the great Mother-goddess ; (12) Human sacrifice, connected with agriculture and the cult of the Mother-goddess ; (13) Matrilineal descent ; (14) Totemic clans ; (15) A dual organization of social life, involving (16) Exogamy.

Of this considerable array of cultural traits there is not space to say much. It will be noted that there is a dual organization both of chiefs and people, and this is of two distinct kinds. The chiefs are of two orders : (a) The Children of the Sun, semi-divine, in the main priestly in office, the maintainers of the Sun-cult, peaceful in government, and not surviving long, except in a very few places, where they are to this day ; and (b) Chiefs not of divine extraction, not priestly, but war-chiefs, of the same culture, but appearing somewhat later, who have generally replaced the Children of the Sun. The dual organization of the people is not directly related to that of the chiefs. It may exist alongside either or both chiefly orders, or after both have died out. It divides tribes and villages into

two moieties, one supposed inferior to the other, between which there is more or less hostility. The only similarity is that there is exogamy in both cases. Marriage must be between individuals of the opposite class or group. This is a strange and rather unnatural system, and it is not likely to arise spontaneously in several places. It has no great advantages, and many disadvantages.

One very noticeable fact about this Archaic Civilization is that wherever it appears at a distance from Egypt it is found full-grown, and in that condition endures only for a moderate period of time, the culture gradually dying out, various elements persisting, whose origin is sometimes forgotten, sometimes, as in Australia, ascribed by tradition to strangers who came from afar or from the sky, and did not stay long. For instance, 'the Maya civilization suddenly appears from nowhere, and it is at its zenith at its very beginning. How could this apparent miracle happen except as the result of the arrival in America of men with the civilization that had been built up so slowly and painfully in the Ancient East ?' From the Maya centre arose the civilizations of Mexico, Honduras, Yucatan, and so, subsequently, the less elaborate cultures of the Eastern United States. Always the first impulse is the highest, and as time goes on the cultural level drops. On the other hand, the culture of Egypt is indigenous, and can be traced in unbroken continuity right from palaeolithic times. The country is protected on the east and west by deserts, and on the south by a stretch of barren sandstone. It is not very easily accessible on the north. The climate is fairly equable, and the Nile-flood gives steady fertility, granted labour and forethought. Here, then, in a period of, possibly, millenniums of general peace, by the activities of a people of high intelligence and manual skill, practically all the arts and crafts of civilization were invented and brought to perfection, at least before 3000 b.c. Elliot Smith says: 'The Egyptians did a great deal more than merely

invent agriculture and devise the earliest statecraft and religion. Not only did they devise the methods of working wood and stone and the art of architecture ; they seem also to have been the inventors of linen and the craft of weaving, of the use of gold and copper and the making of metal tools and implements. They were the first people to measure the year and to devise a calendar. They also invented shipbuilding and constructed the first sea-going ships. In a thousand and one of the details of our common civilization the originality of Ancient Egypt is revealed. The art of shaving, the use of wigs, the wearing of hats, the invention of the kilt and the sandal, and subsequently of a variety of other articles of dress, many of our musical instruments, chairs and beds, cushions, jewellery and jewel-cases, lamps—these are merely a few of the items picked at random out of our ancient heritage from the Nile valley.

The conquest of Lower by Upper Egypt took place about 3300 B.C., and may have been due to the invention of copper weapons in Upper Egypt. The same invention made the working of stone possible, and resulted in the architecture of tombs, temples, and pyramids. From the union of Upper and Lower Egypt a thoroughgoing dualism in all the acts of government resulted ; for the kingdoms were not regarded as one. With the Fifth Dynasty the rule passes to the Children of the Sun, by some revolution whose factors are only conjectured. From this revolution there arose a dualism in the ruling power, the Children of the Sun controlling the newly established Sun-cult, and the nobles who represented the older royal house controlling the civil government. This dualism resulted at last in the break-up of stable government in Egypt at the close of the Sixth Dynasty. Thus during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, from about 2,750 B.C., we have present all the factors which characterize the Archaic Civilization as traced all over the world. They are all indigenous, and are due to the special conditions of the growth of Egyptian culture

and political institutions, running back for thousands of years continuously. Thus 'the conclusion that Egypt was the home of civilization satisfies all the tests.'

One highly important question has been purposely left over. If it be granted that the evidence most definitely points to the expansion, in very various degrees of completeness and permanence, of the Egyptian civilization to the ends of the earth, one is bound to ask a reason for it. Is there any motive that can be discovered strong enough to drive men of the Archaic Civilization forth far and wide in this way? It is to Mr. W. J. Perry that credit must be given for providing the answer to this question. He has shown that it was the search for substances regarded as of great importance as 'givers of life.' Such substances especially were gold and pearls and precious resins and aromatics. There is a fairly long list of such 'givers of life,' but these will do for specimens. The supreme work in life of the kings of the early dynastic times was to provide for immortality by the most sumptuous arrangements for their tombs and embalming. The treasures of Tutankhamen's tomb give some idea of what must have been the consumption of gold through thousands of years. Perry has shown that the megalithic monuments and the other traces of the Archaic Civilization follow most exactly the localities of ancient gold-mines and pearl fisheries. For these desired substances the world was ransacked in almost every corner. 'We know what substances the Egyptians were using in pre-dynastic as well as in dynastic times, and it is certain that they must, in the first instance, have gone abroad to get these things, taking with them the fundamentals of their civilization, and thus gradually setting up fresh civilizations in outlying spots.' 'All the evidence is to the effect that the outlying civilizations were founded by men wandering about the world seeking for gold, pearls, and other desired substances, who found fresh lands either uninhabited by men or tenanted by wandering bands of

food-gatherers. Out of the combination of these two elements, physical and cultural, grew the great civilizations of the earth.' 'In thus setting out to procure the materials for mummification, and for other ritual purposes, the Egyptians set a process at work which still persists, a process that has formed the theme for the literature of the ages, the search for the Isles of the Blest, the earthly Paradise, where eternal youth, and all the desirable things of life, are to be found.'

One very important feature of this remarkable history has been brought out by Perry; it is that through the conflicts which arose in Egypt, and had their repercussion to the ends of the earth, mankind was gradually educated in the practice of systematic warfare. In the prehistoric stage, when men were nothing more than hunters and food-gatherers, anything like systematic warfare seems to have been unknown. 'The entire lack of weapons in the earliest stages of the Stone Age, and the close association between peaceful behaviour and cultural status which is exhibited by the hunting peoples, suggest that all mankind was once peaceful, and that certain peoples have emerged from the hunting stage, and have somehow or other become war-like.' There are, surviving to our own time, a number of tribes which are still purely hunters. 'These peoples are, one and all, when untouched by higher cultural influences, entirely peaceful.' The problem is to account for the change from the 'lower' peaceful to the 'higher' war-like culture. If now the great warlike movements of history be studied, such as those of the Northmen and Teutons of Europe, the Huns of Asia, the Bantus of Africa, and so on, it is noticed that they are all raiding operations carried on by chiefs of the ruling class, which is mostly of alien origin. They all arise on the outskirts of one or other of the ancient empires of history, and are directed wherever there is most wealth to be got. As a general rule, the war-chiefs have learned their methods and organization

from the very civilizations which they assail. When they die, their empire rapidly disintegrates. Perry claims that there is a unity and continuity about the whole process, and that, all the world over, 'every ruling group has been derived from some pre-existing ruling group, that, in fact, a complete continuity runs through the whole of the class States of the world, from one end to the other.' These ruling groups, the whole world over, can be traced back to Children of the Sun, whose ultimate origin is in Egypt. The earliest settlements everywhere of the Children of the Sun seem to have been peaceful. 'The colonists were seeking valuables, not conquests, and they came amongst peaceful folk.' But in Egypt they were, from the first, usurpers, and their coming into power marks the beginning of the progressive education of mankind in systematic warfare. Egypt gradually became a fully military and imperialistic state. Over the whole region covered by her influence 'military aristocracies came into being, war-gods emerged, and the world began to take a shape that we all recognize.' The conclusion is that 'warfare is not coeval with civilization ; it took its intense form at quite a late stage of development ; it is, in a way, a by-product of social evolution.'

The argument is both cogent and impressive. It has also a very important practical application. An institution that has arisen comparatively late in human history, and under highly artificial conditions, is surely not beyond effective control. There are no adequate reasons, biological or historical, for regarding it as a necessary and permanent element of human progress. The ancient dynastic causes of war have practically disappeared. Others have emerged, but as they are far more recent they are, presumably, all the more amenable to reasoned control. If we are only willing and determined to apply the principles of Christianity to all social and international life, there is nothing that can stand against them.

THOMAS STEPHENSON.

MENCIUS' DOCTRINE OF HUMAN NATURE

THE question whether human nature is fundamentally good or bad is one which has exercised thoughtful minds in all ages. Two opposing facts of life stand over against one another. On the one hand, the undeniable fact that all men in all ages have gone astray from what is right seems to indicate that there is a universal tendency in human nature which makes wrongdoing inevitable. On the other hand, the universal presence of conscience, making its voice heard in every individual heart, accuses each wrongdoer of violating his higher self, and bears its testimony that the commission of evil is not a necessity, but there is that in human nature which, if followed, would lead men to do what is right.

In Christian thought the question was first brought to the front in the controversy between St. Augustine and Pelagius at the beginning of the fifth century. Pelagius taught that free will is absolute in men. There is no bias compelling them to do either good or evil. Each man starts from birth with a perfectly innocent nature; there is nothing in his own constitution which makes wrongdoing unavoidable, and all men have within them the power to become morally perfect. Augustine, on the contrary, taught that, owing to the sin of our first parent, all men are inherently sinful. Human nature is corrupt from birth. The will is naturally turned in the direction of evil; and without the power of divine grace, which comes in to change the will, men are hopelessly lost.

Pelagius was condemned as a heretic, and the doctrine of Augustine has coloured the theology of the Western Church right down to present times. Of his view endless modifications have been held, some more and some less plausible. Into the age-long controversy it is not our purpose to enter.

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We are going to turn back the leaves of history, and to find, seven or eight hundred years before the Pelagian controversy, a Chinese philosopher who, so far as his doctrine of human nature goes, held something like the view of Pelagius.

Mencius had no definite theistic belief, and we shall find in him nothing at all that is illuminating for Christian theology. But we *shall* find a pure soul—one of the purest that ever breathed; and we shall find one who, in an age of disorder and wickedness, found it possible to believe in rightness and goodness, and to seek what is right and good in human nature.

In spite of his ignorance of all that has been revealed to us about the Divine Nature, Mencius clung to the idea of a moral order, which claims the obedience and would rule the passions of men. He was taught by that Spirit of whom he knew nothing, and learned that dutifulness and sincerity, loyalty to truth, pity for the weak and instruction for the unlearned, are to be placed above personal success, comfort, and wealth, and all the aims that lower men make for themselves.

In order to appreciate Mencius, we must try to picture the historical circumstances of his time, and must pay a little attention to the philosophical theories which were held by some of his contemporaries. Mencius was born in 371 B.C. It was the declining period of the long-lived Chow Dynasty. He tells us the line of Chow had ruled for more than seven hundred years when he was born; it had a hundred and fifty years still to survive. But China was not a unified nation in those days. Rather it was a collection of little kingdoms, whose princes were continually at war with one another. Their rulers all owed a nominal allegiance to the emperor. But the strong emperors of the early days of the House of Chow had passed away, and their feeble successors were no longer able to assert their rights. Each petty prince was supreme in his own little kingdom.

Most of them governed badly, and their carelessness in administration, their unjust taxation, and their constant wars, made the lot of the common people miserable and often intolerable.

The social conditions of that time are pictured by Mencius in more than one graphic passage. Speaking of the frequent wars in which the rulers ruthlessly sacrificed their subjects, he says: 'When they fight for territory, they fill the fields with slaughtered men. When they fight for a city, they fill the city with corpses. This is called "leading on the land to devour men's flesh."' He condemns the bad administration which was common everywhere: 'When the prince pays no heed to right principles of government, and his ministers have no regard for the laws, then in the court obedience is not paid to principle, and in the office obedience is not paid to rule. Superiors violate the laws of righteousness, and inferiors violate the penal laws.' He instructs King Huei, of the Kingdom of Liang, how the model ruler should govern: 'If your majesty will indeed dispense a benevolent government to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light . . . you will then have a people who can be employed with sticks to beat back the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Ch'ing and Ts'u.' But the rulers did not exercise benevolence; rather, 'among the shepherds of men throughout the empire there is not one who does not find pleasure in killing men.'

The general situation is summed up in the following passage: 'A host marches in attendance on the ruler, and stores of provisions are consumed. The hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called upon to toil. Maledictions are uttered by one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Thus the imperial ordinances are violated, and the people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water. The rulers yield

themselves to the bad current, or they urge their evil way against a good one ; they are wild ; they are utterly lost.'

In the current philosophies, too, of Mencius' day, we find the signs of degeneration and of the breaking up of moral sanctions. The philosopher of those days often held the position of an official counsellor in the court of one of the petty kings. Philosophers wandered from kingdom to kingdom, until they found a ruler who was willing to employ them. Then, for a fixed salary they would attach themselves to the court and become advisers to the king in his conduct of both foreign and domestic affairs.

In such a way, more than a hundred years before the time of Mencius, Confucius himself had been in the employment of the king of his native State of Lu. According to the teaching of Confucius, it was the duty of a loyal minister to instruct his master in the art of right government. He must encourage him in good policies, and must not hesitate to admonish him when his policy is bad. When the minister's advice is no longer followed, it is his duty to give up his emolument and retire from office. For such a reason Confucius had thrown up his office in the Kingdom of Lu, and in an advanced middle age had left his comfortable and assured position, to wander from State to State seeking employment. Among Confucius' own disciples there were more than one who chose a life of poverty and obscurity rather than accept office and emolument from a king who would not be ruled by good advice.

But in Mencius' time a different type of philosopher had arisen. These were men who sought office for its own sake, and instead of trying to guide the prince upon lines of wise policy, they curried favour by giving the advice which they knew would be acceptable, because it encouraged the king's selfish ambitions. Concerning two of these, Mencius was once asked : ' Are not Kung Shen Yen and Chang I really great men ? Let them once be angry, and all the princes are afraid. Let them live quietly, and the flames of

trouble are extinguished throughout the Empire.' Mencius' reply was that such men are not great. They live by pandering to the evil ambitions of their sovereign. The only virtue which they display is the womanly virtue of compliance. They are to their princes like secondary wives, who have no influence over their husbands, but can only blindly obey their wishes.

In another passage Mencius speaks of the nature of true loyalty on the part of a statesman : 'To urge one's sovereign to difficult duties may be called showing respect to him. To set before him what is good and repress his perversities may be called showing reverence to him. He who does not do this, but says to himself, My sovereign is incompetent to this, may be said to play the thief with his sovereign.'

It was not only in conduct, but also in theory, that the philosophers of the time had gone far astray from the teachings of Confucius. There were two opposing philosophies which had come greatly into fashion. The one was the teaching of Yang Chu, a philosophy of pure selfishness; the other was the (to Mencius) equally repugnant philosophy of universal altruism taught by Mih Teh. The former declared that he would not sacrifice one hair from his head, even if it would save another man from being flayed alive. The latter taught that one ought to be willing to be flayed alive if it would save one hair of another's head.

Mencius condemned both these philosophies. 'The words of Yang Chu and Mih Teh,' he said, 'fill the empire. If you listen to people's discourse throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views of the one or the other. Now, Yang's principle is, Each one for himself, which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mih's principle is, To love all equally, which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. To acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in a state of a beast. If these principles are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius set forth, their perverse speakings will delude the people,

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and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness.' Of another philosopher named Kao, and of his teaching that human nature is indifferent to good and bad, and of how Mencius confuted his resulting doctrine of determinism, we shall have more to say in detail presently.

We have seen something of the chaotic political conditions in the midst of which it was the lot of Mencius to live; and have caught a glimpse of the corrupt philosophies with which he had to contend. It is time now to come to our main subject, which is, Mencius' doctrine of human nature. Mencius held that, behind human nature even at its worst, there is a background of good. However foul the stream may have become, it is pure at its source. We can open our subject best by describing part of the conversations recorded to have taken place between Mencius and King Huei of the Kingdom of Liang. They are given in the first book of the works of Mencius, which is entitled *King Huei of Liang*.

Mencius came to Liang, apparently on a temporary visit; but perhaps with the hope of accepting a permanent office in case he found the king amenable to his teaching. King Huei received the philosopher with all courtesy. He showed Mencius his pleasure-park, where the geese and deer gambolled, his pond where fishes and turtles swam, and his tower—works all constructed for him by the forced labour of his subjects. Then the king asked Mencius if a true sage would find pleasure in such things, just as an ordinary man. Without mincing words, the philosopher told him at once that a true sovereign would not be able to enjoy works which had been made at the cost of his people's happiness. A good king would make his people the partners of his own pleasures, and would himself share in the joys and sorrows of his people.

In a later conversation, King Huei asked Mencius if there was any prospect of his being able to exercise right government. Mencius replied by telling the king of an incident

which had occurred a few days previously. The king had been sitting in his hall, and from there had seen a bull outside being led to sacrifice. The poor beast was lowing piteously as it went, as if conscious of the fate in store for it. The king's heart had been moved with compassion, and he had given orders for the bull to be spared, and for a sheep to be sacrificed instead. Now the saying had got about in the kingdom that the king was stingy, and had substituted the sheep in sacrifice because it was of less value than the bull. But Mencius had a more charitable interpretation of the king's conduct. He had seen the sufferings of the bull, and therefore he pitied it. He did not pity the sheep, because he had not seen it. In this incident Mencius had detected the king's capacity for good government. The emotion of pity was in his heart. He only needed to be conscious of the sufferings of his people in order to pity them. If to all his subjects he could extend that feeling of pity which he had shown towards the bull, then he would be able to exercise a beneficent sway.

The incident illustrates both Mencius' doctrine and his method. His doctrine was that even behind the most depraved human character there is a nature whose original tendency was towards good. His method was to try to find this tendency, and then to encourage it to develop itself in action. Thus, in King Huei's compassion shown to a suffering animal he detected the heart of pity, which might exercise itself upon his subjects and produce a benevolent government. For to pity a mere beast was surely more difficult than to pity men. He asks the king: 'Suppose a man were to assert to your Majesty that his strength is sufficient to lift three thousand catties, but is not sufficient to raise a feather, or that his eyesight is sharp enough to examine the point of an autumn hair, but he cannot detect a wagon-load of faggots, would your Majesty allow what he said?' Upon the king naturally admitting that he could not believe such a statement, Mencius

proceeded to show him that the heart of a king who could pity the sacrificial bull must necessarily be able to exercise itself in compassion towards his own subjects.

It is in his controversy with the philosopher Kao that Mencius' doctrine about human nature is brought out most clearly. The controversy occurs in the first part of the sixth book of the works of Mencius, which is called *The Book of Kao Tsi*. It is represented under the form of a dialogue, in which Kao Tsi states various theses one by one, and then Mencius proceeds to criticize them and show their absurdity.

We need not suppose that the contest between the two philosophers ever took the form of such a dialogue as is given here. It has far too much the appearance of a row of nine-pins, set up one by one in order to be knocked down again. Moreover, the swift turns of thought and aptness of illustration, the rapier-like thrust and parry of question and argument, are hardly such as we should find in an extempore conversation. No doubt the real Kao Tsi could have made a much better showing than he is here represented as doing. But the passage illustrates Mencius' keenness of wit, his ability to penetrate straight to the heart of a fallacy, or to take an analogy suggested by an opponent and turn it to his own advantage. Still more does it illustrate Mencius' real earnestness, his conviction that what he is fighting for is essential to a sane view of life, and his determination to oppose and put down the false views which, he knows, are doing mischief to morals and wrecking society.

Kao Tsi opens the contest by laying down his thesis that human nature is originally indifferent to virtue. Human nature, he says, is like a willow-tree. Cups and bowls may be produced from its material. So benevolence can be produced from human nature. Mencius immediately denies the value of Kao Tsi's analogy. Cups and bowls can be made from the wood of the willow, but only by doing violence to the nature of the tree. But righteousness and benevolence

are natural products of human nature. It does not need to be cut and twisted in order to produce virtue.

Kao Tsi next compares human nature to water whirling round in a corner. It will flow in any direction, whether east or west, if a channel is opened for it. So human nature will follow indifferently the course of good or evil. This time Mencius accepts the analogy, but makes a different use of it. Water, certainly, will flow in any direction if a passage is open to it; but it will do so only if that direction leads downhill. The nature of water is to flow downward. It can be made to flow upwards only by artificial means. Just so, the fundamental tendency of human nature is towards good. If it turns to evil, that is because artificial force has been employed. Kao Tsi returns to the attack by attempting to define what we mean by 'nature.' It is simply 'life.' Mencius asks him if he means that nature is the same as life, just as we say that whiteness is always white. Upon Kao Tsi agreeing to this, he forces him to admit that whiteness is the same in all white things, such as snow, or feathers, or white jade. Follows, then, that life must be the same in all creatures, and there is nothing to choose in excellence between a dog and ox or a man. The argument is cunning, but hardly fair upon Kao Tsi!

Kao Tsi tries once more to define 'nature.' It is 'appetite,' enjoyment of food, and delight in colours. Even so, benevolence must be allowed to spring from an internal impulse. But righteousness, or the correct fulfilment of moral relations, is dictated by influences from outside, and is not part of man's original nature. Mencius asks him for an illustration to make clear his meaning. Kao Tsi replies that the principle of reverence, for instance, is external. One is bound to reverence an aged man simply because his age commands such respect; just as one is bound to consider a man to be white when he really is white. The whiteness and the age are both external to us. The one demands that we shall see something white, and the other that we

shall have a feeling of reverence. Consequently the feeling of reverence springs from something which is outside us. Mencius at once exposes Kao Tsi's fallacy by showing that he has compared two things of an entirely different kind. If we see a white horse or a white man, we pronounce them both to be white. But if we see an aged horse and an aged man, our reverence is commanded by the latter only. It is the fact of our feeling reverence that constitutes righteousness, and not the fact of the man's being aged.

Kao Tsi returns once more to the attack. One naturally, he says, loves one's younger brother; but one does not naturally love the younger brother of a stranger. The feeling of love is thus determined by ourselves. Love is a part of benevolence. Therefore benevolence is internal. But we respect an aged man, whether he is a stranger to us or a member of our own family. The feeling of respect is determined by the age. Reverence is an exhibition of righteousness. Therefore righteousness is external. Mencius makes short work of this. Supposing, he says, on one occasion a stranger cooks your food, and on another you cook it yourself. In either case you enjoy your food equally well. Then, according to your way of arguing, your enjoyment of food must be external, because it is caused by something outside.

The logical Western mind stands amazed before this agile display of mental tergiversation. Things abstract and concrete are discussed as if they belonged to the same category. A mere analogy is treated as if it were a solid argument. In no case does either of the disputants advance a single fact which really proves his case. Although in the end Mencius appears to have crushed his opponent, he has not really done so. For it was open to Kao Tsi to reply that, since my enjoyment of cooked food is independent of the cook who has prepared it, the enjoyment is determined by myself, and is therefore internal. But, even so, the point is not scored by either side; for it remains to be shown

whether the enjoyment of food is analogous to an act of righteousness or to a feeling of benevolence.

Evidently Mencius' disciples were not quite satisfied about the result of the debate. The next chapter contains a discussion between two of them, Meng Chi and Kung Tu, upon the same subject. Meng Chi opens the conversation by asking Kung Tu how it is that righteousness (the right fulfilment of relations) is said to be internal. Kung Tu replies that our conduct is produced by our feelings. The feeling of respect is internal, and therefore the conduct of a reverent behaviour is governed by an internal impulse. Meng Chi is not satisfied. 'Suppose,' he asks, 'a country friend is one year older than your elder brother; to which of them would you pay the greater respect?' 'To my brother,' replies Kung Tu. 'But suppose you are entertaining them both at a feast; for which of the two would you first pour the wine?' 'For the country friend,' was the answer. 'Very well,' said Meng Chi. 'In the one case you pay respect to your brother, and in the other you show reverence to the country friend. Your conduct is determined by external circumstances, and not by your internal feeling.'

Kung Tu was unable to reply, so took the problem to Mencius. Mencius said: 'You should ask him whether he pays more respect to his uncle or to his younger brother. He will say, of course, to his uncle. Then ask him, supposing the family are performing the rites of ancestral worship, and his younger brother has been chosen to impersonate the dead ancestor, to whom would he pay the more respect then? He will have to say to his younger brother, because of the position which he occupies. Then you can tell him, My act of reverence to the country friend at a feast is due to the position which he temporarily occupies. Ordinarily, my respect is due to my elder brother; but for a brief season, on occasion, it is due to the country friend.'

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When Meng Chi heard this he said : ' When respect is due to my uncle, I pay respect to him ; when to my younger brother, then I pay it to him. It is certainly determined by what is external, not by what is internal.' Kung Tu replied, quite in the vein of his master : ' In winter-time we drink things hot, but in summer we drink them cold. Then, according to your principle, our eating and drinking depends upon what is outside us.' Finally Kung Tu asks Mencius for the real grounds of his doctrine of human nature. He is truly perplexed by the conflicting theories. Kao Tsi says that human nature is neither good nor bad. Others say that, by teaching or example, it can be made to practise either good or bad. Yet others say that some men are naturally good and others naturally bad. Mencius declares that human nature is fundamentally good. How can he prove his case ?

We now come to the heart of the matter. Illustrations and analogies are no longer played with. We come down to real, bedrock facts. In a passage of undoubted moral earnestness Mencius sets forth his doctrine of human nature. There are, he says, four feelings or impulses which belong to all men alike, and are fundamental in human nature. The first is the feeling of compassion. The second is the feeling of shame or dislike. The third is the feeling of reverence and respect. The fourth is the feeling of approval or disapproval. These four feelings are universal, and no human heart is without them. Let these four be developed and brought into exercise and you have the four cardinal virtues. The feeling of compassion produces Benevolence. That of shame or dislike produces Righteousness. The feeling of reverence produces Propriety. The feeling of approval or disapproval produces Knowledge. The four great virtues—Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, and Knowledge—these are not external principles, which have to be enforced upon human nature from without. They are natural products, native to its soil.

If others deny this, it is because they have not paid sufficient thought to the matter. If men do not practise these virtues, it is because they have neglected or abused their natural powers.

The above is a paraphrase, and not a translation, of Mencius' dialogue with Kao Tsi. Any attempt to render Mencius' Chinese into literal English prose must prove tedious reading. The Chinese Wen-Li, or literary style, is a highly condensed form of composition. Sometimes a single character requires a whole sentence of English to express its meaning. Explanatory phrases have often to be inserted in order to make the meaning plain in translation. On the other hand, in Wen-Li there is a great deal of repetition of characters or phrases. This often makes for elegance in the original, where it merely leads to clumsiness in English. In a literal translation, in consequence, where the original has parallelism, antithesis, or emphatic repetition, the translation merely becomes tedious through its redundancy. Any one who takes up Dr. Legge's monumental work on the Chinese classics, and attempts to read the translation continuously, will soon realize the truth of these statements.

It may, however, by the use of a metrical form, be possible to convey in English something both of the style and spirit of Mencius' Chinese. Where a prose translation is bound to be literal a versifier may be given licence. Repetitions may be conveyed by synonyms. The effect of parallelism may be rendered in rhymed couplets. The quick turns of thought and sudden transitions from one subject to another, the rapid thrust and parry of argument, or the moral enthusiasm which here and there flashes through the formal language—these, it may be, can be best portrayed in the alterations of the rhyme, the changes in rhythm, or the emphasis thrown upon certain words by their position in the verse.

Two or three verses may show something of the effect

which Mencius' Wen-Li must have upon a cultivated Chinese reader.

Kao Tsi said :

The stuff that makes the human soul
Is like a willow-tree,
From which we fashion cup and bowl ;
So human nature, by control
May trained to virtue be.

Mencius replied :

From willow-trees we do not gather
The self-grown cup and bowl, but rather
We strain and bend and turn ;
Alter the willow's natural course
By using artificial force,
And such result you earn.
But will you say that Nature's end
Is followed, when we strain and bend
The souls of men to learn ?
Such doctrines will corrupt mankind ;
Lead them calamity to find
In acts we reckon 'good' and 'kind' ;
Your teaching we must spurn.

So far Mencius is triumphant. He has shown that human nature, in its essence, contains the faculties and instincts which, when properly cultivated, produce virtue. He is also in line with the highest Christian doctrine. That man is 'made in the image of God'—i.e. that he possesses an appreciation of moral values, a capacity for passing moral judgements, and emotions which impel him to moral action,—this is the teaching of the Bible upon the same subject. The Bible, it is true, bases its teaching upon the doctrine of a personal God. Mencius had no such doctrine on which to build his philosophy. But his result is in harmony.

But a further question remains. Granted that human nature possesses right instincts, which, when followed, lead on to right conduct, yet this is not the whole truth. There are other tendencies in human nature. There are evil instincts which, when followed, lead to evil conduct. Can it be maintained that while the good instincts belong to

the original constitution of our nature, yet the bad instincts are initially foreign to it? Is it true that right conduct is normal, and evil conduct is abnormal, in human life? And if this is so, where is the power that should make a man follow the good impulses rather than the bad? Here we shall find our philosopher not so convincing. Indeed, apart from the full Christian doctrine of divine influence the question cannot be answered. We can only glance at one or two of the attempts which Mencius makes towards solving the problem, before our paper closes. It is Kung Tu again who raises this question in the later part of the same book of Kao Tsi which we have been studying. He asks: 'All men are equally human; but some are great men, and some are little men. How is this?' Mencius replies: 'Those who follow their great capacities are great men; and those who follow their little capacities are little men.' Kung Tu asks again: 'All men are human; but some follow their great capacities, and some their lesser. How is this?' The answer of Mencius is: 'The capacities of seeing and hearing do not think, but are obscured by external things. When one thing comes into contact with another, it leads it away. The mind has the capacity for thinking. By thinking, it obtains; if it does not think, it fails. These (the senses and the mind) are what Heaven has bestowed on us. Let a man stand fast in (the supremacy of) the nobler part of his constitution, and the inferior part will not be able to take it away from him. It is simply this which makes the great man.'

But this is no answer. Mencius has merely amplified the question. The senses belong to the 'lesser capacities,' the inferior part of man's constitution. The mind, with its powers of thought and will, belongs to the 'greater capacities,' the superior part. All are equally bestowed by 'Heaven.' But where is the guarantee that a man should follow the higher rather than the lower?

It may be inquired whether, in his reference to 'Heaven,'

Mencius is not feeling his way towards a solution of the problem. It is natural to ask if, in speaking of 'Heaven,' he has not some idea of a Personal Power who controls the destinies of men. The answer is, that the question cannot be asked. Mencius had no conception of 'personality' in the sense in which the word is used by modern thinkers. The question is as absurd as if we asked what Mencius thought about spectrum analysis or Einstein's theory. The idea of 'personality' was as much beyond the philosophers of Mencius' time as are the discoveries of modern science. It is questionable if we are justified even in giving a capital 'h' in translating the character for 'heaven.' All that we can say is that in speaking of 'Heaven' they were groping after some beneficent force, unknown to them, which seemed to them to touch the world and sometimes to govern its affairs.

In another place, Mencius uses an illustration to throw light on the problem. He supposes two men trying to learn the art of playing chess. They have for their teacher 'Chess Ch'iu,' the great Chinese chess-master. One of them brings his mind to bear upon the game, and carefully studies every move. The other has his attention distracted by a wild swan which is flying overhead, and he is calculating how he would bend his bow, adjust his arrow to the string, and shoot it as it soars in the air. So, Mencius suggests, virtue can only be learned by whole-hearted concentration. Here Mencius teaches that *moral effort* is the road to virtue. This is certainly true. But how is the effort to be guided? What is the source which impels it? How do we know that all men are capable of making such an effort? Once more we are left in the dark.

In another passage Mencius introduces a beautiful parable, which reminds one of Jesus' Parable of the Sower, in which the seeds of goodness sown in men's hearts are carried away by the birds of the air, or choked by the thorns which spring up around them. The parable is as follows:

' The trees of the Niu Mountain were once beautiful. Being situated, however, on the borders of a large State, they were hewn down with axes and bills—and could they retain their beauty? Still, through the activity of the vegetative life day and night, and the nourishing influence of the rains and dew, they were not without their buds and sprouts springing forth. But then came the cattle and browsed upon them. To these things is owing the bare and stripped appearance of the mountain, which, when people see, they think it was never finely wooded. But is this the nature of the mountain ?

' And so also of what properly belongs to men,—shall it be said that the mind of man was without benevolence and righteousness? The way in which a man loses his proper goodness of mind is like the way in which the mountain is denuded by axes and bills. Hewn down day after day, can it (the mind) retain its beauty? But there is a development of its life day and night, and in the calm air of the morning, just between night and day, the mind feels in a degree those desires and aversions which are proper to humanity. But the feeling is not strong, and it is fettered and destroyed by what takes place during the day. This fettering takes place again and again. The restorative influence of the night is not sufficient to preserve the proper goodness of the mind; and, when this proves insufficient for that purpose, the nature becomes not much different from that of the irrational animals, which, when people see, they think that it never had those powers. But does this condition represent the feelings proper to humanity? A parable of beauty, indeed, but terribly sad! The mountain, which should be clothed with verdant trees, stands stark and stripped. The man who should be crowned with noble virtue and high moral achievement is reduced to the level of the brutes. But Mencius has no cure. Unless the man's unaided effort can save him, there is no hope.

IVAN D. ROSS.

FORESTS AND THEIR ALLIES

DR. J. V. HOFMAN, of the Wind River Forest Experimental Station (U.S.A.), has recently shown how greatly forestry is indebted to rodents. He has pointed out that the regeneration of forests is largely due to 'furred forest planters,' principally rodents. These are in the habit of burying (storing) nuts and cones, many of which they do not consume; and this leads to distribution of seeds in the most appropriate localities. Although the damage which the rodents do is often conspicuous, yet, according to Dr. Hofman, the silent benefits conferred upon the forest far outweigh the damage. According to Mr. E. N. Mums, of the Forest Service, Washington, D.C., the biotic (symbiotic, I should say) factor in forestry is all too often overlooked, although the question of biology comes up repeatedly in forest practice, and is nowhere more important than it is in the regeneration of forest stands. We are told (*Scientific Monthly*, March, 1924): 'Mr. and Mrs. Rodent's fear of a hard winter leads them to store the Douglas fir seed in the heavy layer of duff, and now foresters are using this characteristic as a recognized practice in forest management in the Pacific North-west. . . . Occasionally one desires to gather considerable quantities of seeds of Douglas fir, pines, and spruce for afforestation work. To pick up the seeds one at a time would require the patience of Job, so one often "collects the rent" from one's free tenants by breaking into the apartments and carrying off all the edibles the pantry affords, if one can. Particularly in the west the little pine squirrel is abundant, and has the habit of making certain of food for a hard winter by storing the seeds and cones of the forest trees. As much as forty bushels of western white pine cones have been found in a single squirrel cache in Idaho! . . . One

thing about these caches that makes them important is that the squirrel, unlike its forester friend, can tell the difference between good and bad seeds, and in cutting the cones from the trees always gets the largest cones and those with the plumpest seeds. With a heavy, laden seed tree to work on, a single squirrel will take every good cone, cutting them off the branch at the exceedingly high rate of one a second. Then, too, in the early spring one can go through the forest or brush field and find little groups of seedlings from two or three to as many as 150 in a single cluster, just poking their head through the ground. These are the little rodent caches, planted perhaps by some chipmunk, who may have departed this life during the winter when he failed to find his storehouse, or he may not have needed this particular little cache, and so failed to return. . . . In a brush field, examined this last spring, 60 per cent. of the seedling western yellow and sugar pines found could be traced to rodent activity, and most of these were at considerable distances from the nearest living trees.'

Vast numbers of beasts and birds, whilst helping themselves to the wild fruits that the forest or the countryside have to offer them, assist the reproduction and the distribution of the respective trees or shrubs, as the case may be. The seeds of yew and guelder-rose and mountain ash are shed by birds on rocks and ruins which few plants would otherwise reach. Acorns and walnuts are carried by rooks to hills giving a clear field of vision, and sometimes dropped there before they are eaten. Hooked seeds, like those which follow the yellow spires of the woodland agrimony, are formed first to catch in hair or fur, and later to induce the itching owner to detach them, as a fox-terrier does after a walk.

So Mr. E. Kay Robinson reports one of the better-known instances of how 'Wood-pigeons make Woods.' 'Last week,' he says, in one of his Nature stories, 'I noticed the work which the fieldfares do before they leave us in

planting undisturbed fields with hawthorns ; but the bird which does most, perhaps, to transform our British landscape is the foreign wood-pigeon, which comes over in multitudes to spend the winter and roost by regiments in the pine-woods on the hills. For wood-pigeons are very greedy birds, and, when acorns, hazel-nuts, or beech-nuts are plentiful in autumn, they will stuff their crops to repletion, with the result that when they are at roost they are often sick, and the ground below is littered with the seeds of future trees. This is why hazel-bushes always seem to spring up plentifully in pine-woods, and why in cycles of years the pines are always replaced by beeches where the soil is shallow, or oaks where it is deep.'

Above all, it is man who has an interest in the planting of forests. This was recognized by a Government Report on Afforestation, issued some fourteen years ago, and it has recently again been emphasized in a valuable paper on 'Forests and Fertility' contributed by Colonel H. de H. Haig to *Discovery*, May, 1928. The writer shows that the inconsiderate destruction of trees by man has been attended by baneful effects on the climate and the resources of the region in which he lives. Wherever mountains and uplands have been denuded of the forests which 'naturally' clothed them, the result has been destructive floods in the rainy season and shrivelled-up rivers in the dry—the same sequence being universally observable.

It is well known that forests preserve moisture. Colonel Haig explains the phenomenon as the result of the plant's economic way of preserving water. The roots of most of our forest trees, as is now well known (though omitted in the paper here referred to), obtain some amount of moisture by the help of symbiotic fungi, penetrating the soil with their delicate threads, which fungi they harbour upon their roots. Given a source of moisture, the leaves of a tree are always cool, and are evaporating moisture, and it follows that every breeze that blows over them

is cooled and moistened, which means that the dew-point has been lowered. 'If the wind now encounters a hill-slope, on blowing upon it, the dew-point is still further lowered by the chill caused, and rain is all the more probable to result. The ground also under the tree is shaded from the sun, and is, therefore, cooler and moister than if it were exposed. In addition, when rain falls, it is easily conducted down the holes made by the roots into the soil, and there is not so much left on the surface to run off or be lost in evaporation.'

In the other case, with the soil hot and dry, herbage gets parched, rain runs off freely, and, since the earth is baked hot by the sun, there is much loss by evaporation. The water runs off fast, sweeping away useful earth, humus, and detritus off slopes that have been deforested, 'filling up and choking the river-beds, wherever the slopes are too flat to enable the current to carry it farther.'

The miles of unhealthy marshland between Pisa and the sea witness to the dire consequences of man's inconsiderate cutting down of trees. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Apennines became deforested, some say because it was believed that the devastating plagues of the Middle Ages were caused by trees, or it may have been to get more pasture for the growth of the wool which made Florence so rich and famous. At any rate, the result was disastrous. The Apennine pastures dried up, the rivers rapidly rose in flood and carried more and more gravel down to the sea. Now there are miles of unhealthy marshes between Pisa and the sea, and there is no harbour for even a row-boat to shelter in; and this is all traceable to the ground getting hard and caked in the absence of trees. ●

In biological language, the calamity is due to man's neglectfulness of duties in norm-symbiosis, i.e. the pact of partnership between plant and animal kingdoms. It is much the same cause as that of diseases and epidemics

amongst us. According to Colonel Haig, 'The denudation of trees has cumulative ill-effects, which tend to reduce the fertility of the country.' Just so unsymbiotic behaviour in matters of feeding, for instance, has correlated and cumulative ill-effects, which tend to reduce the health of nations. As was stated in my *Symbio-genesis*, wrong feeding in man and beast reacts unfavourably (through our manurial and pasturage system) upon the microbial composition of the agricultural soil, and hence upon vegetation. The soil, infected and dyspeptic by unclean alimentation, favours the virulent growth of pathogenic organisms at the expense of the useful. The water-supply, likewise, for the same reason, occasionally becomes poisoned, with the result of various diseases and epidemics. Wars, too, sometimes produce depopulation, which means throwing land out of cultivation. Uncultivated land breeds disease, and this in turn causes further depopulation. 'The land is defiled by iniquity, and it vomiteth out her inhabitants.'

Says Colonel Haig: 'Where there are forests the soil is filled with water, which is kept cool, and, therefore, the springs are well supplied, keeping up the flow of the rivers for a longer time and at a higher level. At the same time the surface of the subterranean reservoir is kept higher, and the roots of plants and trees have a better chance of getting their necessary moisture from it . . .

'The hotter the climate the more careful man should be to preserve his trees, but unfortunately exactly the reverse is usually the case, either from ignorance, want of fuel, or shortness of pasture.'

Should we not rely for our sustenance upon the products of trees rather than upon those of pasturage? There is tremendous biological, economic, and also physiological justification for such a course. We should fare better in many ways. Consider the cumulative ill-effects of what to all intents and purposes amounts to biologically

unrighteous behaviour on the part of heedless man, and, concurrently, of unsymbiotic animals—‘plant-assassins,’ as I have termed them. In Colonel Haig’s words: ‘It usually happens that when a country is deforested, goats and camels are turned on to the land. Any live roots are speedily grazed out of existence, seedlings are destroyed, and the humus pulverized and scattered. Then the replanting is a difficult and expensive job. If it happens to be a country without summer rain, such as Sicily and the Mediterranean shores have become owing to the influence of the Sahara, no seedling can get its roots deep enough in one season to stand the desiccating effect of the summer drought, which may penetrate a couple of feet. Only the planting of young trees of larger growth can then be effective, at, of course, a much enhanced cost. The downward grade is cumulative; the longer the replanting is put off, the more difficult and expensive does it become. One of the effects of deforestation is to accentuate the drying due to atmospheric circulation acting on the present distribution of water and land on our globe. The result is the menacing increase in the desert areas of the earth. Only lately has it been found that, notwithstanding all that we have done in Egypt with dams and canals, there is now a shortage of water! The Government has sent an expedition to examine the sources of the Nile, and to decide if anything can be done to increase and conserve them.’

It is evident that we must endeavour to arrive at a more complete understanding of the dynamics of inter-relation between the inhabitants of the globe,—that we know ‘who is who’ in bio-economic assessment. I will here repeat, despite my critics, that I consider there is every justification for the introduction of the term ‘plant-assassin’ to denote such indiscriminate or excessive feeding as camels and goats, on the above showing, are making themselves guilty of.

Strange to say, the appropriateness of the term 'plant-assassin' was forcibly brought home to the public quite recently when Mr. R. St. Barbe Baker, the founder of the Forest Scout Movement of Kenya, reported the case of the Kikuyu tribe, which had actually got the name of the 'forest-destroyers.'

'Whenever they wanted to make a fresh cultivation they went into the virgin forest, cut down and burned off the trees, and then planted their seeds. They would stay here until they had reaped two crops, and then they would abandon the old cultivation and proceed to take up more land, until the whole countryside was becoming denuded of trees,' with the usual calamitous results.

Now, under the guidance of Mr. Baker, a movement called 'The Men of the Trees' has been founded, consisting of thousands of West African negroes.

'Two years ago they were destroying the forests at an appalling rate. To-day they are protecting them with all the stubborn determination of their race, and, what is more, these unlettered savages have actually started a system of afforestation without costing the Government one penny in wages or payment'! (*Daily News*, February 7, 1924.)

The Forest Scout Movement, as the *Daily News* stated in its leader, is an important contribution to the Empire, and nothing could be more deplorable than the fact that the economy axe has removed Mr. Baker from his post as Assistant Conservator of Forests, thus bringing this promising movement to a halt. It is to be hoped that Mr. Baker will be asked again to proceed with his beneficent work.

That birds, too, may occasionally act the rôle of plant-murderers may be seen from a description by Dr. R. N. Rudmose Brown in *Discovery*, June, 1928. In speaking of 'Plant Life in the Antarctic,' he tells us: 'The Antarctic, however, has one influence hostile to plant life that is absent

in the Arctic. In summer myriads of penguins haunt the islands and coasts of Antarctica, occupying all the low-lying sites that are first to lose their snow, that is to say, exactly the best sites for plant growth. In the proportion of one per square yard the penguins cover every available site; nothing escapes their insatiable curiosity or fails to be attractive to their beaks. No plant that had gained a footing would stand the smallest chance of surviving. It is not unreasonable to regard the penguin as one of the agencies hostile to plant growth in the Antarctic.'

The penguins compare with symbiotic birds much in the same way as the cetacea and the monstrous marine reptiles of the dim past compare with their terrestrial progenitors; i.e. the former are inferior, physiologically speaking; theirs is a case of retrogression. The more a species or genus becomes divorced from symbiosis, the worse becomes its 'adaptation,' the more precarious its existence and survival, particularly so in the sense of evolutionary physiology. How can a selectionist account for such direful consummation? By saying that the organism has cheated 'natural selection,' or by the plea that Nature is inconsistent, or 'favours' some more than others, or 'selects' frequently very badly. In reality, all talk of the 'survival of the fittest' is mere pretence of knowledge, so long as extinction and disease generally remain mysterious as regards their causation. I have found that the more ignorant a biologist is with regard to these vital issues, the more dogmatically will he adhere to this cloak for ignorance which is called natural selection. This entity has attained a truly uncanny ascendancy over people's minds, indisposed as they generally are to look the facts of disease honestly in the face. The biological inquiry into disease has been shirked, owing to the baneful effects of a belief in natural selection, and the bankruptcy of medical science *vis-à-vis* to cancer is in large part

traceable to the ill-omened self-sufficiency induced by a belief in natural selection.

It is largely due to the false bias induced by the cult of natural selection (regarding which Dr. Lancelot T. Hogben states in *Discovery*, June, 1924, that it is based on premises which cannot to-day be considered as having any foundation in fact) that we generally entertain too high an estimate of the cleverness of predaceous, i.e. unsymbiotic, species, whilst we underestimate, or even ignore, the wonderful ingenuity and startling usefulness of the non-predaceous species, i.e. those which live according to the give-and-take principle of symbiosis—such as the aforesaid ‘forest-planters,’ for instance.

Look what we owe to the beaver, as an example, for its share in irrigation and in agriculture. Says Mr. Ivan E. Houk (*Scientific American*, March, 1924): ‘The natural trait of beavers to build dams for the protection of their homes has long been known, but it is only recently that its economic value has been recognized in irrigation work.’

Mr. Houk computes the value of the beaver dams in the Cochetopa Forest to be \$200,000.

‘It is evident that the value of the beaver as an aid to irrigation is of no minor importance. In fact, a plan has already been developed and put into operation in Colorado, whereby beavers are taken from one section of the State where they are plentiful, and transplanted, as it were, to other sections where their services are more essential, the animals being trapped in huge wire nets placed on the dams. One case is recorded where a rancher, who had only enough water to irrigate a small garden plot before he imported beavers, now has sufficient water to cultivate forty acres successfully. . . . Beavers build their dams of trees, bushes, sticks, weeds, and so forth, cementing the materials together with mud and rocks. Beaver dams 600 feet long, and flooding many acres of land, have been found in northern Wisconsin. Sometimes, after years of work,

the dams become solid banks, through which the water passes only by percolation, and on which trees, such as poplar, willow, and birch, take root and grow. If this occurs where the natural slope of the stream bed is comparatively flat, marshy ponds and even peat bogs are formed.

How do those industrious and widely useful animals live? They live, like all other really availing animals (or plants), on the symbiotic principle of 'cross-feeding'; i.e. they derive their sustenance from the spare-products of the partnering kingdom. In the summer they live on roots, berries, leaves, and aquatic plants, whilst in the winter they eat of the bark of the trees they cut down during the autumn. Mr. Houk tells us that beavers prefer the bark of deciduous trees, such as the aspen and willow, trees which are of little value as timber. Pine they never attack. 'Consequently they are of some added value to the agriculturist in that they tend to rid the country of weed trees. They are strictly vegetarians, as they never eat meat of any kind.'

How different is the case from that of 'in-feeders,' typified in beasts and birds of prey, or in parasitic plants, that steal their sustenance from other plants without contributing anything in return, or even in 'cross-feeders' which merely rape and ravish their nutritional partners without rendering them an equivalent life-service! What a study in contrasts, in compensation, in nemesis! Nature is ever consistent, though she feign to break her own laws. In the end it is always seen that the thief robs himself, the swindler cheats himself. . . . Things refuse to be mismanaged long. Benefit is the end of Nature, but for every benefit received a tax is levied. Bird, or rodent, or ruminant, or insect, or man, must help fruit no less than fruit helps them. Unless they do they will destroy the means of an honest livelihood.

'Once upon a time,' Colonel Haig tells us, 'when a race of palaeolithic savages lived in Egypt, that country

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was blessed with abundant rainfall and luxuriant vegetation ; that is admitted by all geologists and archaeologists.' It is easily seen to have been the case by the valleys and gulleys cut by water which run down to the Nile, but are now dry ; and he goes on, most significantly from my own special point of view : ' It is unfortunate that the animals that man domesticated in hot countries should have been the worst possible in abetting him in the destruction of trees—camels, donkeys, goats, all eat branches and leaves of growing trees as high as they can reach. What chance has a young tree of growing up ? The tall old ones die and are not replaced, so deforestation goes on apace, man in his ignorance being his own enemy.'

All of which is emphatic of the suicidal character of plant-assassination. It shows that the only biological safeguard against unwholesome developments consists in symbiotic restraint. Some of my critics are in favour of biological irresponsibility. One of these gentlemen exultantly produced a *reductio ad absurdum*, as he thought, of my theory. He told his readers that if one were to live up to my theory of symbiosis one would have to eat as far as possible of fruits with pips, and have to be careful—very careful—to spit out the pips where they may grow. The same reviewer, signing himself 'W.', in the *Manchester Guardian*, September 27, 1920, yet felt obliged to 'confess' that in my book he has met with 'a conception illuminative over a large section of the evolutionary field,' one which, 'once pointed out, its neglect by past thinkers is almost startling.'

All that my theory demands is that we should show a sufficiency of reciprocity to our partnering food-plants. There is a multiplicity of ways of doing that. The kind of reciprocity to be shown in each case must depend upon the prevailing circumstances, and also upon the status of the partnering species. Men are able to be useful to their food-plants in a thousand and one different ways, as a

lowly animal never could be. We are not confined in pauper fashion to some paltry means of service that may constitute the sole symbiotic armoury of a less evolved species. We have a wealth of service to bestow upon the plant. Our office is not so much to supplant as to supplement and supervise the services rendered to the plant by less evolved creatures. It is that of chief executive in organic civilization.

According to Colonel Haig, it is of the greatest importance to cover the soil where possible with a canopy of leaves, so as to regulate the gradual distribution of the rain that falls. 'It is not yet too late for man to begin covering the waste places of the earth with trees.' Nay, he thinks that probably, if left to themselves, many waste places would regain their forests. Trees are easily dominant. They need, however, to be adequately supported by partners, or at least not to be actively opposed by those who in the natural scheme of things should be their friends. It should be remembered, too, that re-afforestation of our depleted woodlands is a matter of vital importance for other reasons. The maintenance of a considerable area of forest land in a country leads to the establishment of subsidiary industries, such as paper-mills, saw-mills, cellulose and artificial silk factories, furniture manufactories, and so on, and this affords employment to a considerable number of people.

With the words of Sir Francis Younghusband, from his *The Heart of Nature*, I might appropriately close :

'Which of these two views of Nature, so far as Nature can be judged from what we see of her on this planet, is correct, he (the artist-naturalist) has now to determine. He will want to reach the very heart of Nature here manifested in its manifold variety. He will want to arrive at the inner significance of all this variety of life. Then only will he understand Nature, and be able to decide whether Nature is cruel and therefore to be feared, or kind and gracious and therefore to be loved.'

H. REINHEIMER.

THE NOVELS OF JOSEPH CONRAD

STORIES are already beginning to cluster around the personality of Conrad as they did around that of Stevenson ; and we cannot wonder, for his life has in it all the materials of a romance. To have known no English till nearly twenty-one years of age, to have changed his nationality on the strength of a sudden resolution, to have spent many years as a sailor, and then, after his fiftieth birthday, to blossom out into a prolific story-writer—this is the kind of career which appeals to the imagination. We might spend much space in describing his personal habits and idiosyncrasies, but we must here restrict ourselves to a few facts which will serve as a framework for his novels.

Joseph Conrad—or, to give him his original name, Teodor Joseph Konrad Karzeniowski—was born in the Ukraine in 1857, the son of a Polish squire. He knew no English and nothing of the sea when, about seventeen, he was working in Switzerland with a tutor. Seated by the wayside at the top of a pass he saw an English family stride by—a tall, rubicund *paterfamilias* ahead, a sunburnt son and daughter behind. ‘That,’ he records himself as saying, ‘is the nation to which I wish to belong.’ In spite of opposition at home, he ran off to sea, and a few years later became naturalized in order to take out his certificate in the British Mercantile Marine. His initial impulse to study the English language came when he first beheld the Red Ensign high above him in the morning mists of the Mediterranean, as he gazed across the waters from a Marseilles pilot-boat, and listened to someone’s low, clear English speech sounding in his ears.

Very mysterious was the fate which transferred Conrad from the sea to literature. Finding himself idle for a few weeks in the interval between two voyages, he passed the

time by writing the first pages of his first novel, *Almayer's Folly*, in the front room of a Bloomsbury boarding-house. The story grew slowly. In five more years of seafaring life, adding to it little by little, he had completed nine chapters. It is said that Mr. John Galsworthy was his first reader and encourager. In *A Personal Record* he tells of a delicate cabin passenger whom he took with him to Australia, a reticent young man, to whom he suddenly confided his manuscript. Next day the passenger returned and gave it to him. To the question as to whether it would do he returned the laconic answer, 'Yes.' Conrad, however, for some time made no attempt to publish. But in 1894 the effect of a fever caught in the Congo made it doubtful whether he could return to sea; and so while still uncertain as to what he should do, and almost as an afterthought, he sent the MS. of *Almayer's Folly* to Fisher Unwin. To his great surprise it was accepted, and from henceforth Conrad devoted himself to literature.

Conrad's position at his death was so high that it is difficult to realize how recently his name became known at all widely. He had enjoyed the esteem of the best judges long before he knew a more tangible kind of success. Most of his earlier books were welcomed as they deserved by his fellow-artists and by a small circle of admirers; more than twenty years ago the *tour de force* of *Typhoon* evoked the warmest praise. Yet the general public still remained unaware of him, and it was not till the publication of *Chance* in 1913 that the pent-up waters of his reputation spread over the country at large.¹

¹ The following is a list of Conrad's novels, with their dates of publication: 1895, *Almayer's Folly*; 1896, *An Outcast of the Islands*; 1898, *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, *Tales of Unrest*; 1900, *Lord Jim*; 1901, *The Inheritors* (in collaboration with Ford Madox Hueffer); 1902, *Youth*; 1903, *Nostromo*, *Typhoon*, *Romance* (in collaboration with Ford Madox Hueffer); 1907, *The Secret Agent*; 1908, *A Set of Six*; 1911, *Under Western Eyes*; 1912, *'Twixt Land*

In addition to his short stories Conrad has published fourteen longer novels. Of these, five—*Almayer's Folly*, *The Outcast of the Islands*, *Lord Jim*, *Victory*, and *The Rescue*—deal with situations in the Eastern seas round the Malay Archipelago. *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and *Chance* describe voyages in the Indian and Atlantic seas respectively. *Nostromo* has for its theme adventures on the South American seaboard; *The Arrow of Gold* and *The Rover* the Mediterranean. *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* do not touch the sea.

Let us consider SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE REMARKABLE WORKS.—When Conrad finally came ashore he was furnished with a store of impressions which were well worth the telling. But more than this is necessary to constitute a great novelist. Many who have passed an adventurous early life have been able to produce a certain number of pictorial tales; but, while their earlier works have been fresh and interesting, the vein has soon become exhausted, and the characters of their later books tend to become replicas of the first under different names. In Conrad, on the contrary, an original genius unfolded itself. He had not only the gift of story-telling, but that of CREATIVE IMAGINATION, and this enabled him continually to produce new types of character. In all that splendid gallery of portraits we can think of none that could be mistaken for another. They stand each of them with his individual nature clearly defined. Moreover, Conrad enters victoriously into other spheres than that of the sea. In

and Sea; 1913, *Chance*; 1915, *Victory*; 1916, *The Shadow Line*; 1918, *The Rescue*; 1920, *The Arrow of Gold*; 1928, *The Rover*. He has published in addition *The Mirror of the Sea*, which is largely autobiographical; a volume of essays, which show his familiarity with modern literature, especially the French novelists; a discursive but delightful book of reminiscences called *A Personal Record*; and three plays—*Laughing Annie*, *One Day More*, and *The Secret Agent*, the last adapted from the novel.

The Secret Agent he describes in masterly fashion the life of Russian anarchists in London; and in his short story, *The Duel*, he has caught the very spirit of the army of the first Napoleon. And diffused over all his novels is a quality which Mr. Chesterton calls GLAMOUR—a peculiar emotional intensity which makes the story glow and gleam. Take, for example, *Nostromo*. The theme of the book is 'the domination of the silver of the Sulaco mine over the bodies and souls of the human beings who live near to it. The light of the silver shines over the pages. It is typified by the white head of Higuerota rising majestically upon the blue. Conrad, then, has selected the most romantic theme possible—the spirit of silver luring men on to adventure and to death—and he keeps this atmosphere to the end, even until that last vision of "the bright line of the horizon, overhung by a big white cloud shining like a mass of solid silver."

No one has conveyed more convincingly than Conrad **THE MAGIC OF THE SEA**. A writer in the *Manchester Guardian* declared that he was the greatest sea writer of the age, and that on the day of his death the flags of all the merchant ships of the world should have been lowered to half mast. What reader can ever forget the terrifying description of the storm in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, or the steamship in *Typhoon* battling against the waves: 'He watched her, battered and solitary, labouring heavily in a wild scene of mountainous black waters lit by the gleam of distant worlds. She moved slowly, breathing into the still core of the hurricane the excess of her strength in a white cloud of steam, and the deep-toned vibration of the escape was like the defiant trumpeting of a living creature of the sea impatient for a renewal of the contest.'

For a contrast take this picture of a calm night in the tropics: 'A marvellous stillness pervaded the world, and the stars, together with the serenity of their rays, seemed

¹ Conrad, by Hugh Walpole (Writers of the Day Series).

to shed upon the earth the assurance of everlasting security. The young moon recurred, and, shining low in the west, was like a tender shaving thrown up from a bar of gold, and the Arabian Sea, smooth and cool to the eye like a sheet of ice, extended its perfect level to the perfect circle of a dark horizon. The propeller turned without a check, as though its beat had been part of the scheme of a safe universe ; and on each side of the *Patna* two deep folds of water, permanent and sombre on the unwrinkled shimmer, enclosed within their straight and diverging ridges a few white swirls of foam bursting in a low hiss, a few wavelets, a few ripples, a few undulations, that, left behind, agitated the surface of the sea for an instant, subsided splashing gently, calmed down at last into the circular stillness of water and sky, with the black speck of the moving hull remaining everlastingly in its centre.' This is the height of romantic realism !

To Conrad SHIPS were as lovable as women, tender, capricious, sly, and even wicked, with almost human powers of understanding : 'I think I have known ships who really seemed to have eyes, or else I cannot understand on what grounds a thousand-ton barque of my acquaintance on one particular occasion refused to answer to her helm, thereby saving a frightful smash to two good ships and a very good man's reputation.'

And then there are THE MEN WHO MAN THOSE SHIPS, stolid, unimaginative, and uncouth ; yet their splendour shines through their laughable limitations. Take Captain McWhirr of the *Nan Shan*, one of Conrad's great creations. He is unimaginative to the last degree ; stupid even, if you will ; to him conversation is a mystery and sentiment about a ship's flag simply unintelligible ; but he is dowered with a shrewdness, devotion, and chivalry that make him not only able to carry his steamboat through the fury of the

¹ Conrad, *The Mirror of the Sea*.

hurricane, but dominate his men for their good, and save the lives of the terrified Chinese coolies in the hold who are fighting like wild beasts. Not less fascinating are the various forecastle types, such as Singleton, the boatswain of the *Narcissus*, with their childish simplicity and kind-heartedness. And they are painted 'good and bad and like to coins, some true, some light,' even to the wretched little cad Donkin. He is the incarnation of the worst type of Cockney, the reverse of those shown in the kindly cartoons of Mr. George Belcher.

Yet, however interesting these characters are in themselves, they are always subordinate to THE UNITY OF THE BOOK. The reader is never in the position of being unable to see the wood for the trees. Conrad here shows himself a member of the modern rather than the older school of novelists. Gone are the days when Scott and Dumas poured out their stores with such reckless profusion; gone also are the long interludes of Fielding, such as *The Man at the Hill*, which have no connexion with the main plot. With Flaubert and Stevenson the novel became much more consciously a work of art, and this was counterbalanced—in Stevenson at least—by some loss of spontaneity. Conrad in this respect shows himself the most rigorous of artists; his main conception is kept steadily in view throughout, and all the various details serve to heighten the effect. Only, with all this, there is a freedom and ease which one misses in *Kidnapped*.

Conrad's powers are seen at their height in the great psychological study *Lord Jim*, which is in some respects even superior to *Nostromo* (it contains no such improbability as the suicide of Decoud). The story is that of a young officer in the British Mercantile Marine, magnificently developed physically, and with a free and trustful manner which wins men's hearts, but he has a habit of indecision which causes him to fail at the supreme moments of life. This fatal defect is shown at the very outset, when he is a

cadet on a training-ship. In a stormy sea a man falls overboard. A boat is manned for the rescue, but Jim does not rush for it as do the others ; he deliberates, and afterwards he thinks how much better he could have done the job, and of the fine things of which he is capable.

It is this hesitancy, coupled with his pride, which in the end proves his undoing ; and the book is a series of incidents which show the reaction of his character to events, down to the final tragedy. Finding himself stranded in the East, he takes a mate's position in the steamship *Patna*, carrying a crowd of Arab pilgrims home to their country. In the midst of the Arabian Sea she strikes a derelict ; the water flows in, and is only prevented from flooding her by a thin iron plate, which bends under the pressure. The first impulse of Jim is to shout out and warn the passengers, but he reflects that there are not boats for more than a third of them, so he hesitates. Meanwhile the rascally captain and his officers make up their minds to go off quietly in a boat and leave the eight hundred Arabs in the ship, which they are convinced will not swim a quarter of an hour. Jim despises them, but at last, at their call, jumps blindly into the boat. Then they row away in the darkness. Unfortunately for them the *Patna* does not sink ; she is sighted by a French warship and towed into port ; and in the inquiry which follows Jim, with the others, loses his certificate and is disgraced.

Now appears Marlow, that kindly, observant sea-captain who moves in and out of several of the earlier novels. Through his good offices Jim secures a position in Patusan, an island far from the beaten track. There, apart from the old world, he hopes to redeem his character. For a time everything prospers with him. By a fortunate series of accidents he finds himself in a position of highest prestige among the natives. Yet at the moment of trial he is again found wanting. A roving band of cut-throats, under the leadership of a man named Brown, come up the river to

plunder the settlement. They are checked and their escape cut off, and the people all expect the white lord to deal firmly with them. But Jim gives way under the effrontery and innuendoes of Brown ; he allows the buccaneers to retire to their ship. And they treacherously open fire in their retreat, killing a number of people, including the chief's son.

Then comes the tragic climax. Refusing to save himself, Jim strides through the threatening crowds till he faces the infuriated chieftain. 'The unwieldy old man, lowering his big forehead like an ox under a yoke, made an effort to rise, clutching at the flintlock pistols on his knees ; then while Jim stood stiffened and with bared head in the light of torches, looking him straight in the face, he clung with his left arm round the neck of a bowed youth, and, lifting deliberately his right, shot his son's friend through the chest. . . . And that's the end.'

It is impossible to convey in an outline the atmosphere of this wonderful story,—the sumptuous descriptions of the voyage of the pilgrim-ship through the Arabian Sea, the clearly defined thumbnail portraits, the vivid pictures of Eastern ports and out-of-the-way islands, above all the masterly analysis of Jim himself in his winsomeness and weakness. It is a study of the ruin which comes to a noble nature through one fatal flaw, and it is worthy of a place beside *Coriolanus*.

We are here reminded of another habit of Conrad—His COMPLICATED WAY OF PRESENTING THE STORY.—In *Lord Jim* it is told first by Conrad himself, then carried on by Marlow, by Stein, a Dutch merchant, by the senior partner in a firm of ship-brokers, and by Brown. This method undoubtedly makes the plot harder to follow, and the case of *Lord Jim* has actually been adduced in support of the notion that Conrad's genius does not lie in the direction of story-telling at all—a notion sufficiently disproved by several of his shorter stories, which have a classical

directness and simplicity. But the deliberately adopted complexity of Conrad's later novels is really a sign of his consummate realism. For if one takes the evidence for any actual occurrence as given, say, in a court of law, there are usually several witnesses, and the outlook of each is coloured by his temperament and prejudices ; yet the final impression left in the minds of an intelligent listener is of one coherent history. So Conrad shows events from several different points of view, and leaves it largely to the reader to trace the thread of the plot. This makes demands on his sagacity, but the effort is worth while. And those who go back to such a story as *Lord Jim* for the second, or third, or fourth time, find it continually growing richer in suggestiveness and delight.

Consideration of Conrad's method of construction leads naturally to THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS STYLE, a fascinating subject for all who are interested in the art of expression. 'Give me the right word,' he says, 'and the right accent, and I will move the world. It must be lying there somewhere amid the wreckage of all the plaints and all the exaltations poured out since the first day when hope the undying came down on earth. But it's no good ! I believe there are some men who can lay hold of a needle in a pottle of hay at first try. For myself, I have never had such luck.' To find the right word Conrad spent years in studying Flaubert and in ceaseless revision of his compositions. Mr. Edwin Pugh says that after he had published several books he was still puzzled and vexed by certain subtly simple words such as 'like' and 'as,' 'who' and 'whom,' 'that' and 'which.' 'I spent hours in discussing with him the finer differences between them, their shades and nuances of meaning, and he wrought upon the examples I invented or quoted in agony and bloody sweat for days on end.'

But it is not only in exactness but in economy of expression that we detect a progress in Conrad. The descriptions of his earlier books have an exuberance which reminds one of the rank luxuriance of tropical forests. The first paragraph of *Almayer's Folly* shows this. In those days he was fond of high-sounding adjectives, which he poured out in floods, sometimes as many as three or four to the noun, and placed after it in the French manner. So, to take one typical paragraph, we find such expressions as 'the night impenetrable and all filling'; 'the night, cool and merciful'; 'that man, masterful, fair-headed, and strong.' This undoubtedly gave colour to his sentences, but it was apt to become rhetorical, and, if constantly repeated, monotonous. And so Conrad set himself to prune his expressions. We see the result in his later books. 'It is as though the earlier work were a fine, swinging wire, with a glorious sweep and a deep, booming note, and his later work were the same wire, tightened up, and vibrating and humming with a tense, swift, and almost invisible action.' In time his prose developed into a polished instrument capable of being turned to every variety of writing. He can in *The Arrow of Gold* be as lyrical as ever, but he also commands a delicate irony; and sometimes, as in *The Secret Agent*, he writes a plain prose narrative, like Swift describing his characters 'as if for the police.'

What this cost him he has hinted at in his account of the writing of *Nostromo*: 'For twenty months, neglecting the common joys of life which fall to the humblest on this earth, I had, like the prophet of old, "wrestled with the Lord" for my creation. . . . These are perhaps strong words, but it is difficult to characterize otherwise the difficulty and strain of a creative effort in which mind and will and conscience are engaged to the full, hour after hour, day after day, away from the world and to the exclusion of all that makes life

¹ Richard Curle, *Joseph Conrad: A Study*.

lovable and gentle—something for which a material parallel can only be found in the everlasting sombre stress of the westward winter passage around Cape Horn.¹ And so by infinite toil he achieved a style which is 'without doubt the most accomplished and full-toned instrument of utterance that any recent writer of English has worked out for his particular purpose.'

It cannot be denied that Conrad shows us a sombre universe. Most of his heroes either kill themselves or get killed, or come to grief in some way, or, if successful, have to buy their success at the cost of superhuman efforts. He is not without humour, but it is a grim humour tinged with pity. We miss the sunlight of Shakespeare's comedies, or even of Fielding; indeed, it might be good to correct Conrad with a dose of Fielding, just as it would be good to correct Fielding with a dose of Conrad. This sombre atmosphere is no doubt due partly to his race, for Conrad was a Slav, and had the same deep, underlying melancholy which affects us in the music of Tschaikovsky.

Such pessimism is part of the modern spirit; it is in the French writers; it is in Hardy, Conrad's great contemporary. Yet we seem to detect this difference between Conrad and Hardy—that whereas the one seems to view mankind as the plaything of the gods, as did the old Greek dramatists, the other rather ranges himself with Shakespeare :

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

His heroes come to grief through a defect in their nature for which they are to blame.

This, of course, does not reach the Christian position, which is better expressed by the robust optimism of Browning. But there is much to admire in Conrad, much which

¹ *Joseph Conrad*, by Ernst Bend.

awakens our reverence and gratitude. He has exalted loyalty, kindness, courage, and endurance; these are the qualities which shine forth from his seamen, the most spontaneous of his creations; and he has portrayed them with a sincerity, an insight, and an imaginative power which will secure him a place among the immortals.

'It is a wistful picture of a Polish sailor who had read Flaubert and the English Bible, who had bared his head under the stars, and resolved to write about the unearthly colour and terrible beauty of life, the cruel splendour of waves and tides, the ruthless magnificence of wind and storm—and man's reaction to them in his loneliness. Even to the end he was striving to do that, striving with a mastery of the pen which he could never believe was his, however confidently we whom he so arrested may proclaim it now that he is with the ages.'

HENRY HOGARTH.

LEARNING AND WORK

GOSPELS and Epistles equally rebuke either the Jews generally or the scribes and Pharisees particularly for acting contrary to their own teaching. The Gospel of Matthew (xxiii. 8) contains the passage : ' All whatsoever the scribes and Pharisees bid you observe, that observe and do ; but do not ye after their works ; *for they say, and do not do.*' In Romans ii. 20-23 we read : ' Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal ? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery ? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege ? ' In both cases the Jews are right and just in theory, wrong and unjust in practice. There must have been, according to both reports, a deplorable contrast between teaching and doing. The former was excellent, unsurpassed, and to be followed ; the latter, however, abominable, perverted, and to be shunned. Contemporary philosophers and scribes of the same age deal so frequently with this problem that we are enabled to control and elucidate the verdict of the Gospels and Epistles.

Philosophers of the first century dwell again and again on this subject. The aim of philosophy is neither accumulation of knowledge nor learning, but an endeavour to reach the path which leads to eternal life. Epictetus does not get weary in repeating : ' He who lays stress on study, and neglects work, is merely a philologist, and does not deserve the honoured title of a philosopher.' The recurrence of this sentence in Epictetus' works suggests that there must have been among his contemporaries many men who spent their days in archives and libraries, in museums and lecture halls, reading and lecturing, searching and making notes without producing any thoughts. Their labour was entirely lost, for they could or did not translate their thoughts, if they

had any, or the result of their research into actual life or deeds. Demetrius, whom Seneca quotes, admonishes his pupils and friends not to waste their time and energy to study and learn, to amass knowledge, but to acquire a few healthy rules of life and conduct, which have to be observed very carefully in practice.

Just as the earliest teachers of the Church and the ancient philosophers paid especial attention to this contrast between work and learning, practice and theory, religion by deeds and by talk, so did the scribes. This question exercised the minds of Jewish scholars already in the middle of the second century B.C. The *Treatise of the Fathers* (i. 4-5) registers the opinions of two contemporary scribes. These were: Jose ben Joezer, a man of Zereda, and Jose ben Johanan, a man of Jerusalem. The former says: 'Let thy house be a meeting-place for the wise; sit amidst the dust of their feet, and drink their words with thirst.' The latter teaches: 'Let thy house be open wide; let the poor be the members of thy household, and engage not in much gossip with women.' It is to be noted that the man of Zereda limits his words and advice to *learning*, emphasizes the virtue of *scholarship*, thinks foremost of acquiring *wisdom*. The man of Jerusalem opens up new vistas to religious life and activity. The sphere of the latter is not merely learning and teaching, but is to be sought in providing for the poor and needy, in works of charity, and in avoiding sin.

These different and opposing aspects of religious activity surely have had their representatives and adherents in the following centuries. A man like Abba Shaul,¹ who lived before the destruction of the Temple, and taught

¹ *v. Semahot*, chap. xi. Abba Shaul was also the chief representative of the teaching of the *imitatio dei*, which he found expressed in Exod. xv. 2, 'This is my God, and I will be like Him'); *v. Mekhilta*, p. 37a, B. Shabbat 183B. The followers of this teaching held that practice goes before learning.

that in case of a funeral teachers and scholars have to interrupt their studies and show honour to the dead, surely sided with the view expressed by the man of Jerusalem. The scribes, who gathered in Lydda before the Bar Kokhba war, put this question as the order of the day of their meeting, debated on it in a parliamentary way, and the majority voted in favour of learning versus work.¹ The leaders of the two parties were : R. Tarphon in favour of work, R. Akiba in favour of learning. The latter view was victorious in the debate, for, as they said, 'Learning leads to deeds.' The report, although often repeated in the rabbinical sources and frequently dealt with by historians and theologians alike, is very brief and laconic. No wonder that the interpretations of the meaning attached to the two terms '*Talmud*' and '*Maaseh*' brought forth so many divergent and quaint views. We can safely state what the terms, which were used as catchwords, could not mean. They surely never meant to raise the question whether learning or study exempts from the observance of the Law, or frees from discharging of religious duties. On the whole, in spite of a few opposing scholars² it was held that study and observance of the Law go together. Personally, the scribes adhered to a stricter observance than that which they bade the people to observe.³

We may get nearer to the real point of the debate if we recollect a few incidents in the lives of the two scholars who were the leaders in that memorable council at Lydda. Let us first examine the relation of these two scribes to one another, and their attitude to the problem discussed by them. R. Tarphon, we are told, was a very wealthy

¹ *Sifre Deut.* § 41, *Midr. Tannaim*, ed. Hoffmann *ad. loc. pal. Hagiga I. 7. B Kid. 40 B.*

² *v. R. Meir, Midrash Eccles. Zutta p. 94, or R. Jochanan ben Nappacha, j Ber. 8 B., and others.*

³ *v. instances in Marmorstein, Religionsgeschichtliche Studien II., p. 55 f.*

man.¹ Once R. Akiba persuaded him to invest a considerable sum of money—one report speaks of 600 or 180 silver centenarii; another more exaggerated writer mentions 4,000 gold dinars—in a good bargain. After a time R. Tarphon inquired of R. Akiba about the whereabouts and the nature of this investment. R. Akiba led his colleague to a locality where scholars and teachers were studying and teaching, among whom R. Akiba previously distributed the money. R. Tarphon was surprised, if not greatly disappointed, and asked: 'You call this an investment?' R. Akiba replied: 'Yes, I do. So did also King David in saying: "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth for ever"' (Ps. cxii. 9).² R. Tarphon's astonishment and question show clearly that he did not value so highly the upkeep of learning as did R. Akiba. Two versions relate an incident of R. Tarphon's biography. He plucked figs in a sabbatical year from a tree belonging to some one else. He was seized and struck, according to the Palestinian version, or put in a sack in order to be drowned, according to the Babylonian version of the story. When he sighed: 'Woe unto thee, Tarphon,' &c., the guardsman or the owner released him. R. Haninah ben Gamaliel adds to this: 'R. Tarphon never would or could forgive himself for deriving a benefit from his scholarship.'³ In another story an old man reproaches R. Tarphon, saying: 'Why should you give opportunity to people, who speak of you in a way of contempt (for taking as a priest the priestly dues all the year round from anybody), as otherwise all your deeds are upright?'.⁴ We see hence that this scholar put stress on deeds in contradistinction to learning.

¹ v. Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (London, 1912, p. 32).

² Lev. rabba 84 16, Pesikta, r. ed. Friedmann p. 126 B and treatise Kalla, chap. iv.

³ pal. Shebiit 85 B, bab. Nedarim 62a. ⁴ Tosefta Hagiga III, 86.

Not so R. Akiba ! His son, R. Simon, was dangerously ill ; practically dying. R. Akiba did not leave for a moment the house of study. Messengers came bringing news about the serious condition of the patient. R. Akiba went on teaching and learning till the last one, the fourth, came, and reported : ' Your son is dead ! ' then R. Akiba arose, took off his phylacteries, tore his garments, and said : ' My brethren, Israelites, up till now we were not allowed to disturb our studies ; now, however, it is our duty to leave our studies and do honour to the dead ! ' We may find this attitude austere and strange to our taste and feeling, yet one cannot fail to admire this unlimited devotion to learning. Another illustration. R. Akiba visited with his colleagues his master, R. Elieser ben Hyrkanos, when the latter was dying. This happened on a Friday afternoon, when the schools were closed already. The patient rebuked his visitors : ' I dare to say that the scholars are guilty of eternal death ! ' ' Wherefore ? ' asked the scribes. ' For,' said R. Elieser, ' they did not take the trouble to visit me in my sickness ! ' He turned to R. Akiba and said : ' Why didst thou not come in order to serve me ? ' R. Akiba said : ' I have had no time ' (i.e. ' I was engaged with the study of the Law '). Study prevented R. Akiba from paying a visit to the sick-bed of his teacher. It seems from another report that R. Akiba changed his view in later life, and recognized his mistake. A pupil of R. Akiba got ill. His colleagues and friends, who strictly adhered to the decision of the council at Lydda, that learning is more important than work, did not visit the sick person. R. Akiba, however, went there, and his disciple thanked him with the words : ' Rabbi, thou hast brought life to me ! ' R. Akiba left the sick-room, and preached in public : ' He who does not visit the sick is like a murderer ! ' This sounds like a recantation !

¹ Semahot, chap. viii.

² Aboth of R. Nathan, chap. 25.

³ Nedarim 40a.

Our material enables us to define the views of the contemporaries of the scribes, who gathered in Lydda. One of them—it is doubtful whether R. Ismael ben Jose or R. Ismael, the son of R. Johanan ben Beroka¹—said: ‘He who learns in order to teach will have no chance either to learn or to teach; yet he who learns in order to do will have a chance to learn and to teach, to observe and to do.’ R. Eleasar ben Azarja, another contemporary, rebuked Ben Azzai, a bachelor scribe, for being an excellent preacher and very bad practitioner. The same scribe teaches in the *Treatise of the Fathers*²: ‘He whose wisdom is greater than his works, to what is he compared? To a tree, the branches of which are many, but its roots are few. The wind cometh, and uproots it, and turns it upside down, as it is said: “For he shall be like the heath in the desert, and he shall not see when good cometh; but shall inherit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited”’ (Jer. xvii. 6). Elisha ben Abuja³ deals in four sayings with our problem. A scholar without deeds appears to him as a house built on a bad foundation or ground which is easily destroyed by rain. The lime keeps the bricks together, so do deeds keep wisdom alive. Learning without deeds is like a cup without a base, and a rider who rides a horse without a bridle. All these scribes surely voted for the motion of R. Tarphon in favour of work against learning.

One must not lose sight of the fact that whilst these scribes disputed whether work or learning is to be preferred, there developed in the first century a movement which opposed both, and objected to learning in the same degree as to observances and good deeds as well. An ancient, quite reliable source depicts a set of people among the Jews, who looked with contempt upon those who learned, taught,

¹ v. *Aboth* of R. Nathan 2 vers. chap. 32 and Durans’ *Commentary on Aboth*, iv. 5.

² III. 18.

³ *Aboth* of R. Nathan, chap. xxiv.

and performed deeds. They despised those who strove for good deeds. They hated the scribes. They stood in the way of people who observed the Law and commandments.¹ It would be interesting to know who these people were. As far as we can ascertain, we can only group them with the atheists who denied the existence of God, who are frequently mentioned in our rabbinical sources.² We can imagine that they found no mercy in the eyes of the Jewish teachers, for even those who learned without performing the duties of their religion were addressed. 'It were better for a man that he had not been born than that a man learns the Torah in order not to do what is written and commanded therein.' The words of the Gospel coincide and literally agree with this condemnation of those who say and do not do.

It is to be added that even after that memorable assembly at Lydda the scribes did not follow blindly that decision. We traced the fact that the prime mover at the debate modified, if not retracted, his view. After the Bar-Kokhba war the most prominent teachers in Galilee acted contrary to the decision of their masters in Lydda. R. Judah ben Ilai adhered his life long to his master's, R. Tarphon's, view, and left the house of study whenever a bridal pair or a funeral passed by. He, together with his pupils, took an active part in the wedding celebration, or helped in the preparations for the funeral.³ The Apologist of Christianity, *Aristides of Athens*,⁴ who belongs to the same period, has nothing to reproach the Jews of his age on this accord. On the contrary, he bears out that the Jews imitate God's ways by acts of lovingkindness, by charity, by redeeming the captives, by burying the dead, and so on.

¹ *Sifra*, ed. Warsaw 1866, p. 109a.

² v. Marmorstein, *The Existence of God in the Apologies of the Scribes in Jewish Forum*, January, 1924, pp. 16-26.

³ pal. *Hagiga* 76c.

⁴ v. *Expositor*, January, 1919, p. 70.

R. Simon ben Jochai,¹ another scholar who escaped from the Hadrianic persecutions and settled in Galilee, says that the practice of the Torah is greater than the study of it. We find him visiting the sick whilst neglecting his learning, a custom which was not exercised, as we saw, in his master's, R. Akiba's, days. The story runs : R. Simon was in the habit of visiting the sick. Once, on such an errand, he came across a man who in his pain cursed God. R. Simon said to him : ' *Rekah* ! Instead of imploring God's mercy, you dare to blaspheme Him ? ' The sick man replied : ' May He free me and visit you with my trouble ! ' R. Simon said : ' It serves you right ; for you have forsaken the words of the Torah, and occupied yourself with foolish things ! ' *R. Simon III ben Gamaliel II*,² the Patriarch of the Jews after 135 C.C., sided with these scholars when he said : ' Learning is the unessential part ; work is the essential one.' An anonymous teacher of this period states : *Ye shall observe, that is the Mishna (i.e. learning), to walk in them (i.e., the work).*³

A Jewish scholar of the last century, Jacob Reifmann, advanced a suggestion that the 'Men of Deed' (*Ansh Maaseh*) mentioned in rabbinic writings are the teachers who gave preference to work before learning. However ingenious this idea sounded about half a century ago, we are rather inclined to see in them men of merit, men who distinguished themselves by the most punctilious observance of the Law. The two opinions and views clashed very often even, in the third and fourth centuries, according to the temperament or the mood of the individual teachers. R. Huna on the one side says : ' He who occupies himself with the study of the Law, and not with works of charity, is like a person who has got no God at all ! ' R. Abbahu, on the other side,

¹ *Aboth of R. Nathan, chap. 86.*

² *Aboth, I. 17.*

³ *Sifra 85d.*

⁴ *Beth Talmud v., p. 90.*

⁵ *v. Büchler, Some Types of Jewish Piety, p. 87, and Marmorstein, The Doctrine of Merits, pp. 10, 191.*

rebukes his son, whom he sent from Caesarea to Tiberius to attend lectures, for neglecting his studies and doing works of charity. We gather that, in spite of the fact that the Mishnah¹ codified the point of view expressed by R. Akiba and his followers, life was stronger than theory. Wisdom without work, then as now, has no right to exist. In statesmanship and scholarship, in education and religion, there must be perfect harmony between theoretical wisdom and practical work.

A. MARMORSTEIN.

Peah I. 1.

A SCOTCH DIARY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE history of Scotland is for the most part not a pleasant study. It is a record of cruel and bloody strife between the different lairds and their clans, of frequent wars with England in which thousands of soldiers are recorded as slain, of endless fierce and destructive forays on the border, until we wonder that any men were left in that thinly populated country.

A history, it is true, redeemed by a beautiful character like that of Alexander and his English Queen Margaret, and by a nobility like that of Wallace, with its terrible ending. And yet again by that of Robert Bruce. It was by the persistent daring and by the skill of the Scot that, as Tytler says, 'The complete independence of Scotland, for which the people of that land had obstinately waged a war of thirty-two years' duration, was amply acknowledged on the firmest basis, and England, with her powerful fleets, her superb armies, her proud nobility, and her wealthy exchequer, was by superior courage and military talent compelled to renounce for ever her schemes of unjust aggression.'

Later came the long and bitter controversy, when England sought to enforce episcopacy on the Kirk of Scotland.

It is all the more refreshing and delightful to turn to the personal and intimate pictures of the sixteenth century as we have it in the diary of Mr. James Melville, Minister of Kilrenny, in Fife, and Professor of Theology in St. Andrews, 'ranging from 1556 to 1610.'

Our aim is not to give a summary of the book nor a history of the writer, but to find such extracts as light up the character of the times.

Very quaintly does he begin the record: 'I knawe a man in Chyrst brought from the wombe of his mother by God the 25th day of the moneth July, dedicat of auld to

St. James the Apostle and Martyr in the yeir of our Lord 1558; wha for thankfulness of hart to the praise and honour of his gratius God and deir father in Chryst and for edification and comfort of his childring, and sic as sall reid the saming heirefter, is moved to sett down in monument of wryt the benefits of God bestowit on him since his conception and day of his birthe foremarked, so far as his weak understanding and freall memorie can conceave and recompt, whowbeit that the smalest of his unknown benefits passeth the graitest reache of my apprehension and utterance.'

It is much in those days of difficulties in foreign travel to find such attainment in learning as that of his father, and yet more of his uncle, Andrew Melville.

'My father,' he says, 'was brought up in letters from his youthe and gentlemanlie effearies till he was past twentie years of age.' Then he passed to Germany, 'whar he remained at the studie of letters, namely Theology; first with Dr. Macabeus in Denmark and thereafter a heirer of Philip Melanchthon in Wittenberg bie the space of twa yeirs.' He returns to Montrose and comes under the influence of 'the maist lerned, godlie, and noble Scots Martyr, Mr. George Wyshart. And the Lord blessing the seid sawin by them in his hart, soon efter the first Reformation of Religion, thrust him out into his hervest and placed him Minister of his Evangell at the Kirk of Maryton, a mile from Montrose: in the quilk he continued faithfullie unto his lyffe's end. He died the 53 of his age anno 1575 in a interick fever maist godlie.'

The account he gives of his Uncle Andrew, to whom he became so largely indebted, reveals an attainment in learning such as could be equalled by few in our own time. He left the University of St. Andrews reputed 'the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master in the land.' He goes to Paris, 'whar he remainet twa yeires, hearing the lightes of the most scyning (learned) age.'

Among others are named 'Peter Ramus, teacher in

Philosophie and Jo. Mercarus in the Hebrew language, 'whereupon he was specially sett. He grew sa expert in Greik that he declaimit and teachit lessons, uttering never a word but Greik with sic readiness and plentie as was meravelous to the heirs.'

Here is an incident illustrating the disturbances and perils through which he passed. 'When the colleges were giffen upe because of the seage leyed to the town (Poictiers) quilk was long and feirful, he was employed by an honourable Councillor to instruct his onlie son. The bearne profited exceeding weill and was of a sweit inclination, takin away from him and his parents be a schot out of the campe, quhilk parted the wall of his chalmer and wounded him deadlie in the thie. He called incontinent for his maister, whom when he saw he caught him in his armes and uttered the words in Greik, "Master, I haiff perfyted my course." That bearne never gaed out of his heart.'

Later he spent five years in Geneva, 'during the quhilk tyme his chieff studie was Divinitie whereanent he heard Beza his daily lessons and preachings; Cornelius Bonaventura, Proffessour of the Hebrew, Caldaick and Syriac languages.'

This Andrew Melville is made Principal of Glasgow College, and later of St. Andrews, and there we find his nephew James. Of that residence the most interesting incident is the picture we have of John Knox, now an old man, but one in whom the fierce fires can be quickly roused again.

'Because in all my course,' says our diarist, 'the graitest benefit was the sight and heiring of that extraordinar man of God, Mr. Jhone Knox, so far as I then knew and hard of him, I man heir record. There was a General Assembly hauld in the scholles of St. Leonard's, our College. There, amangs other things, was motioned the making of Bischopes: to the quhilk Mr. Knox opponit himself directlie and zealuslie. Yet a number of Commissionars of the Kirk meatt at Leithe

with the Lords that had the cause in hand, whereof everie
ane was hounting for a fatt Kirk lieving, quhilk gar them
fight the faster, and there agreeat to make Bisches, when
they were named "Tulchains," that is calff's skin stuffed
with stra, to cause the cow to giff milk; for everie Lord
gat a bishopric and presented to the Kirk sic a man as wald
be content with least, and gain them maist of fewes, leases
and pensiones.'

He turns aside from the picture to give us this vignette: 'That was the first time I hard Mr. Patrick Constantine, who thought to have been preferrit to the bishoprick, bot coming schort, becam a zealus preatchour against Bisches. I hard a sermon of his the ouk (week) efter the Bischope was maid, upon ane extraordinar day, that he might haiff the graitter audience; wherein he maid thrie sorts of Bisches: My Lord Bischop, My Lord's Bischop, and The Lord's Bischope. "My Lord Bischope," said he, "was in the Papistrie: My Lord's Bischope is now, when my Lord getts the benefice, and the Bischope serves for na thing bot to mak his tytle sure: And The Lord's Bischope is the trew Minister of the Gospell."

We needs must linger over the story of Mr. Patrick Constantine, for no incident could give us a more vivid illustration of the controversy.

A crafty man certainly was this Mr. Patrick, who after a while manages to be made Archbishop of St. Andrews, and by a 'bull,' as it is called, issued by King James, is appointed 'Supreme Governor of the Kirk.' Amongst other matter of some length as to his vast authority, this bull directs that 'giff the said Bischop be disobeyit, we will accompt the injurie don to our ain persone and punishe the saming with all vigour in example of uthers.'

Here surely was a position tall and great enough to satisfy even such an ambition.

The synod of the Scotch Kirk gathers at St. Andrews, and as Moderator Mr. James Melville is the preacher. He

gives a vivid picture of that most memorable gathering. Thither, with all his importance and authority, comes the Archbishop, the supreme Governor of the Kirk. He places himself close by the preacher 'with a great pontificalitie and big countenance, as he braggit he was in his ain citie and haid the King his maister's favour, he needit to fear no man.'

We sit and listen as the preacher reaches this point of his sermon : ' Coming to our ain Kirk of Scotland, I turned to the Bischope sitting at my elbow, and, directing my speech to him personallie, I recompted to him shortly his lyf, actions, and proceedings against the Kirk, taking the Assemblie there to witness, and his awin conscience before God, giff he was not an evident pruiff and example that the Dragon had sa stangit him with the poison and venome of avarice and ambition that swelling exorbitantlie threatened the wrak and destruction of the haile bodie in case he war nocht tymonslie and with courage cut off.'

So the Assembly proceeded to excommunicate this high and mighty Archbishop, their ' Supream Governor.'

' A day or twa efter the Bischope penned an excommunication and in a bischoplie mauner sent out a boy with ane or twa of his jakmen (armed retainers) and red the same in the Kirk whereby by his Archie-piscopall Authoritie he excommunicat the Moderator and chief men of the Assemblie.

' The Sabbath following notwithstanding his now excommunication be the Synodall, yit he wald to the pulpit and preatche. But being com to the Kirk, and the bell round, and he ready to go to pulpit, an comes and tells him that a number war conveined of purpose to tak him out of the pulpit and hang him ! Wharat, calling for his jakmen to byde about him, he reased a grait tumult in the Kirk, and for feir could nocht byd in the Kirk but tuk him to the stipe, out of the quhilk he was ruggit to be convoyed saiffie to his awin Castell. And it was reported for veritie to me, be manie honest men that saw it with their eis, that a heare (hare) brak out amangs the multitude and ran befor them

toward the Castell. This the vulgar callit the Bischope's Witche !'

This 'pontificalitie' of his soon came to a miserable end. Six years later we read : 'This Bischope being a man that delt deceatfullie with all and never discharget sa mikle as a civil diewtie according to the lawes, reposing upon the King's favour, at last the King was sa faschit with complents of all sortes upon him, he was eschamed of him and cust him af; and fordar disponit his lyffrent to the Duc of Lennox, with the temporalitie of the bischoprik, whereby the miserable Bischope fell in extream povertie and thairwithall in a heavie disease of bodie and mynd.'

In his need and sickness he is tenderly cared for until his death by the Moderator and the chief men of the Synod, whom he had excommunicated. Was ever a more romantic story ?

We must turn again to the picture of John Knox. 'I saw him everie day of his doctrine (teaching) go with a furring of martriks about his neck, a staff in the ane hand, and guid godlie Richart Ballanden his servand halding up the uther oxtar from the Abbay to the paroche kirk ; and be the said Richart and another servant, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie ; bot or he haid done with his sermon, he was sa active and vigorous that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads and fly out of it !'

The Castle of Edinburgh at that time was held by the adherents of Mary against the forces of Elizabeth, and was besieged against the sturdy resistance of the Lord of Grange and his soldiers. Knox predicted with strange prophetic vision two years previously the end that should befall its brave defenders.

'The threatenings of his sermons,' says Melville, 'war verie soar ; and sa particular, that sicas lyket nocht the cause, tuk occasion to reprotoche him as a rash raler, without warrand. And Mr. Robert Hamilton himself being offendit, conferrit with Mr. Knox, asking his warrand of that particular

thretning against the Castel of Edinbruche, that it sould rin lyk a sand-glass; itsould spew out the Captain with scham; he sould nocht com out at the yte yet, bot down over the walles; and sic lyk. Mr. Knox answerit, " God is my warrant, and yie sall sie it." Whill as the uther was skarslie satisfeit, and tuk hardlie with it, the next sermont from pulpit, he repeates the thretnings, and addes therto, " Thou, that will nocht believe my warrand, sall sie it with thy eis that day; and sall say, What haif I to do heir ? "

This sermont the said Mr. Robert's servand wrot; and, being with his maister in Edinbruche a twa yeir thairefter, at the taking of the Castell, they ged up to the Castell-hill, saw the forwark of the Castell all demolished, and rinning lyk a sandie bray; the Captain taking doun over the wall upon the leathers (ladders); and Mr. Robert sayes to his man, " Go, what haif I ado heir ? " And in going away the servant remembers his maister of that sermon; wha was compellit to glorifie God, and say, he was a trew prophet.

During his residence in St. Andrews, Melville sees a witch executed, ' against the quhilk Mr. Knox delt from the pulpit, sche being set up at a pillar before him.'

To us of to-day it is a thing unthinkable that hundreds of these poor creatures should have been burned to death, not only without pity, but with a grim sense of satisfaction. Sir Walter Scott, in his history of Scotland, states that when Mary, a widowed Queen of nineteen, came from France to Edinburgh, a pageant was prepared for her reception. Amongst other displays, it was intended to have a priest burnt to death in the act of elevating the host ! In effigy, it is to be hoped, says Sir Walter. Happily the Earl of Huntly persuaded these zealous anti-papists to omit this item of the pageant.

Here is a vignette from St. Andrews: 'About the same time came to St. Andrews to visit Mr. Knox Jhone Durnie who was for stoutness and zeal in the guid cause, much renowned and talkit of. For the gown was na sooner af,

and the Byble out of hand when on ged the corslet,
and fangit was the hagbot (? headpiece) and away to the
fields !'

Is there in all the history of the Spanish Armada any
incident so complete as that which we find in this diary ?

It is in Anstruther, on the coast of Fife, 'within twa or
thrie moneth aifter Lambes tyde 1588.'

'Earlie in the morning, be brak of day, ane of our bailyes
cam to my bedsyde, saying, "I haiff to tell yow newes, Sir.
Ther is arryvit within our herbie this morning a schipe full
of Spainyarts, but nocht to giff mercie bot to ask !" And
sa schawes me that the Commanders haid landit, and he haid
commandit tham to thair schipe againe till the Magistrates
of the town haid advysit, and the Spainyarts haid humblie
obeyit : Therfor desyrit me to ryse and heir thair petition
with tham. Upe I got with diligence, and assembling the
honest men of the town, cam to the Tolbuthe ; and after
consultation taken to heir tham, and what answer to mak,
ther presents us a verie reverend man of big stature, and
grave and stout countenance, grey-heared, and verie humble
lyk, wha, efter mikle and verie law courtestie, bowing down
with his face neir the ground, and twitching my scho
(touching my shoe) with his hand, began his harang in the
Spanise young, wharof I understud the substance. The sum
was, that King Philipe, his maister, haid riget out a navie and
armie to land in Eingland for just causes to beadvengit of
manie intolerable wrangs quhilk he haid receavit of that
nation ; but God for ther sinnes haid bein against thame, and
be storme of wather haid dryven the navie by the cost
(past the coast) of Eingland, and him with a certean of Cap-
teanes, being the Generall of twentie hulks, upon an yll (isle)
of Scotland, called the Fear Yll (Fair Isle), wher they maid
schipewrak, and whar sa monie as haid eschaphit the merciles-
sies and rokes, haid mair nor sax or sevin ouks (weeks)
suffered grait hunger and cauld, till conducing that bark
out of Orkney, they war com hither to kiss the King's

Majestie's hands of Scotland and thairwith bekit even to the yeard (bowed down to the ground), and to find relief and comfort thairby to him selff, these gentilmen Capteane, and the poore souldarts, whase condition was for the present maist miserable and pitifull.

'I answerit this mikle, in soun: That whowbeit our frindschipe could nocht be grait, seing ther King and they war frinds to the graitest enemie of Chryst, the Pape of Rome; nevertheless, they sould knaw be experience that we war men, and sa moved be human compassion, and Christiannes of better relligion nor they, quhilk sould kythe (manifest), in the fruicts and effect, plan contrar to thars. For wheras our peiple resorting amangs them in peacable and lawfull effeares of merchandise, war violentlie takin and cast in prisone, thair guids and gear confiscat, and thair bodies committed to the crewall flaming fyre for the cause of Relligion, they sould find na thing amangs us bot Christian pitie and warks of mercie and almes.'

So forthwith the General Jan Gomes de Medina and the captains are entertained by the laird and the gentlemen of the country, and soldiers 'to the number of threttin (thirteen) score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled (feeble and dragging their limbs), and houngered, to the quhilk keall, pattage and fische was giften.' And this General Jan Gomes goes home with his men, later to befriend a Scotch ship, having 'red (rode) to court for hir and maid grait rus (praise) of Scotland to his King.'

We must conclude with the quaint and touching story of the death of his little son Andrew.

'The bern was Fallon (extremely) beautifull, loving and mirrrie, and seimed to be of a fyne sanguine constitution till a quarter efter he was speaned (weaned); bot syne his fleche and cullor fealed, and be the space of a quarter of yeir consumed and dwyned away, keiping always the sweitest and pleasandest ei that could be in annes heid. He was my first propyne and hansell (present and offering) to

heavin. I can nocht forget a strange thing at his deathe. I haid a pear of fyne milk whait dowes, quhilk I fed in the hous : The ane wharof that day of his deathe could nocht be haldin af his cradle, bot stopped from sitting above it, crape in and sitt in under it, and died with him : The uther lighted at my fuit and crying pitiuslie ran a litle away from me, and within twa or three houre died also.

' I maid on him this Epitaphe :

' Oh ! first lyk pleasand floure on erthe thou grew !
Syne dwyned to dead, with dowes to heavin thou flew ! '

He adds : ' If thow be a pater that reids it, thow wilt apardone me. If nocht, suspend thy censure till thow be a father, as said the grave Lacedemonian, Agesilaus.'

BASIL ST. CLEATHER.

THE TREASURE HOUSE OF BELGIUM

The Treasure House of Belgium: Her Land and People, her Art and Literature. By EMILE CAMMAERTS. (Macmillan & Co. 21s. net.)

THE last words of this finely illustrated volume throw light on its title. 'It is only with great reluctance,' M. Cammaerts says, 'that one dares to speak of a man's spirit, and it is with still more reluctance that one ought to speak of the spirit of a people. There remains in both cases an unfathomable mystery which it is almost sacrilegious even to attempt to reveal. Certain paths, however, coming from certain quarters, seem to lead to the same goal. Our only desire in writing this book has been to point them out to those who wish to travel, not only along the easy highways of a foreign land, but also along the steeper by-ways leading to the Treasure-House.' The book seeks to bring out the main characteristics of Belgian life as Belgians themselves see it. This is done by the writings and pictures of its own writers and artists, who for the last eighty years have been mainly concerned with subjects of local interest.

The traveller from Ostend to Brussels finds the wide landscape of Flanders and North Brabant broken only by a few screens of poplars along the straight roads and canals. South of Namur the railway rises to a high plateau, from which a complex maze of deep, winding valleys runs through the Ardennes. The north has well-tended fields, and the plain is studded with villages and farms. In the south the fields are confined to the plateau, the valleys are thickly wooded or covered with broom or heather, and the land seems much poorer and very sparsely populated. The brick cottages in Flanders are whitewashed and have red-tiled

roofs, green doors and shutters. In the region of the Meuse and the Ardennes grey or brown stone and slate are plentiful, and the villages, instead of shining brilliantly as in Flanders, appear like dark patches against the green background. 'It would be difficult to find anywhere else in Europe two landscapes more entirely different lying so close together.' Four million people in Flanders speak Flemish, which, as a literary language, may be identified with Dutch; the three million Walloons of the south speak mostly French. The Flemings are less sociable than the Walloons, and have neither their facility of expression nor vivacity of mind. They move more slowly, and have a greater capacity for patient labour. Taciturn and serious, they prefer broad humour to sparkling wit. The 'tolerant scepticism often adopted in the south is almost unknown in the north, where a strain of fanaticism is frequently noticeable in religious or political conflicts. Most of Belgium's poets are of Flemish birth; most of her lawyers, scientists, and organizers come from the southern provinces.'

Charles de Coster's *Tyl Ulenspiegel* is the first outstanding Belgian work of French expression. About the same time, in 1860, the poems of Guido Gezelle, an obscure priest of Bruges, laid the foundation of modern Flemish literature. The wider appeal of French led Verhaeren and Maeterlinck to choose that language for their writings. Brussels is, in fact, bilingual, and the knowledge of both French and Flemish is compulsory in the Army, the Law Courts, and the Central Administration. Both Flemings and Walloons take an exceptional pride in their local customs, and are devoted to their clock-tower. 'Even the English Mayor, in his most splendid garments, does not enjoy the prestige of the Burgomaster, "supreme chief of the local police force." ' The part played by a good dinner in social life is equally important all over the country. Such treats are welcomed after long periods of strenuous labour. They are associated with the fair, or *kermesse*, held on the feast of the local patron

saint, when the passion for dressing-up for processions, enlivened by music and colour, finds full expression.

If Brussels is the epitome of the country, Belgium may be regarded as the epitome of Western Europe. Her position has given her a share in the life both of France and Germany. Antwerp may be considered as twin brother to the port of London. Brussels is destined by nature to become the seat of the League of Nations. To travel through Belgium is to travel through European history. Battles have been fought here and treaties signed; great buildings have been erected, great pictures painted; old songs and traditions are jealously preserved. 'It is on this traditional foundation that modern Belgian civilization is based, and it is on its strength that the future of the nation depends.'

The dunes of Flanders protect the low-lying pastures from the sea, but afford no shelter from the prevailing north-west wind. The land partakes of the changing moods of the sea. Great stretches of pasture lie below sea-level, and are preserved by the patient upkeep of artificial dikes. 'Left to itself, the land would soon become again what it was in the early Middle Ages—a region of bogs and sterile heath, the prey of storms and floods.' The literature and art of bad weather have been prominent in Flanders. Verhaeren has more verses on the tragic moods of the country than on its brighter aspects. Gales, snow, frost have been sung as often as spring and summer. Gezelle's *Tydkrans*, 'The Crown of Time,' is a poetic diary of Nature followed step by step throughout the year. Verhaeren's 'Les Plaines' is a drama in four acts, in which the awakening of spring succeeds the sleep of winter, and harvest fulfills the promise of seed-time. During the war Émile Claus took a room at the bottom of Norfolk Street, in the Strand, where he painted about sixty Thames pictures in every light, from thick pea-soup to bright sunshine. They did not attract much attention when exhibited in London

in 1917, but have been greatly appreciated in Belgium, and one of the finest has found a place in the Brussels Museum. Painters and writers share this love of light and colour. They never wander far from the water, where light is increased twofold and the rich grass and noble trees on the banks fill their hearts with content. Few Flemish artists are townsmen. 'Claus led a solitary life in a small village near Ghent; Heymans had a special caravan made for him, through the large windows of which he was able to paint in all seasons and all weathers; whilst Verwée spent most of his time in Knocke and in the low-lying pastures of the polders.' Lemonnier and Verhaeren, when they returned from Paris, spent months in some remote village to see again the fields, woods, and rivers among which they had spent their youth.

The Ardennes are regarded as a national preserve, an ideal holiday ground. From the top of the steep hills the eye ranges over miles of wild and unspoilt country. 'Even in their wildest aspects the Ardennes do not lose the homely and intimate character which gives its unity to the Belgian landscape. They may be rough, barren, and somewhat difficult of access; their marshy crests swept by the wind, their large and dense forests, rich in game, may give the traveller the illusion of adventure, but his adventure will never become an epic; it remains a legend, brightened by the song of rushing water and the smile of a neighbouring valley.'

Garnier grows eloquent over the Scheldt: 'Each time I see it again my heart is wrung by an invisible hand. I feel as if I ought to shout, to lift my arms like an exile coming back at last from far-away countries. . . . The men who have grown up on the land fed by its waters keep to their death the stamp of their origin, which distinguishes them from other men; a special way of feeling or being moved, a kind of melancholy or gladsome poetry. There is no village, lost in the midst of the Condroz or the Ardennes, where its influence is not felt.'

The Ardennes region has a special scent, yielded by 'the turf burnt in the fields and the wood piled upon the hearths ; it fills every cottage, where hams hang round the high fireplaces and from the rafters of the living-room, and mingles with the smell of the stable near by and of the manure-heap piled up in front of the door, for the Ardenne cottager seldom can afford the luxuries provided in a model farm. He might shun them even if he could afford them.' One can realize in the Ardennes the virginal beauty of the impenetrable forest, covering the high plateau of the Meuse, which stopped the onrush of the Flemish tribes. How the Belgian peasants lived centuries ago may be seen from farms in the Ardennes and Campine. The number of those who have preserved their old bread-bins, cupboards, and grandfather clocks, becomes smaller every year, but the old hearth is still used, with its elaborate fire-dogs and large pot-hook. Some thatched roofs remain, and flower-pots and checked curtains may be seen through lattice windows.

The overwhelming majority of Flemings are attached to the land. Every farmer seeks to cultivate his plot with the help of his family. Some of the young folk seek more profitable work in the towns or abroad, but greed and love for land survive passing changes. Verhaeren describes the monotonous work which wears out the existence of the small farmer. It is a narrow life, with its round of toil and the anxiety due to bad weather and illness. Those who follow it are 'as hard as the soil, as rough as the wind, as patient as the year.' On Sunday every trace of labour is removed. On Saturday the cottage is cleaned and the weekly ablutions are undertaken. 'The men shave ; their Sunday clothes are taken from the drawers and cupboards where they have been carefully stored during the week ; all indulge in the luxury of fresh linen ; there is the comfort of rising later than usual, the delight of lingering over one's breakfast, the leisurely stroll to church, the hearty mid-day

meal, at which all appetites are, for once, completely satisfied. In the afternoon the older men chat together, smoking their pipes on a bench before the door or in the *café*; the younger ones play skittles or practise archery; the lovers walk two by two in the neighbouring lanes, and the children are let loose in the fields. Sunday is a day of repletion and freedom, when the dignity of man is restored.' Easter, Whitsuntide, the Assumption, and Christmas, the four great religious festivals, correspond more or less to the chief periods of the farmer's year, so that prayers are bound up closely with the blessings of rain and sunshine. Georges Virrès describes a typical Sunday, when all united in prayer and thanks to God. After an hour of religious exultation the crowd left the church carrying with them its influence. They remained 'in the solitude of their souls, close to God, full of the mysterious glory of His aspects, which their lips are never able to express.' Under a rough exterior the Flemish peasant hides a strange delicacy of feeling. His religious fervour may be tainted with superstition and fanaticism, but it lightens up a long life of hard toil fraught with many dangers, which might breed despair if it were not for the hope of salvation. His pleasures may lack refinement, but they are the necessary outlet of a boisterous nature, which is obliged to crowd into a few hours all the enjoyment it claims from life.' The Fleming is seen at his best in the intimacy of home.

The Walloon district has regions of cattle- and horse-breeding and fruit-growing. The larger farms and the proximity to the industrial centres of Liège tend to soften the hardness inherent in peasant life in remote parts of the Ardennes. The Walloons do not take life so seriously as the Flemings. They enjoy a quiet joke, and laugh at themselves and each other. Feeling is quickly stirred, and there is an element of comedy in the most pathetic incidents which does not escape these keen observers. Many amusing stories illustrate this feature of their character. The

laughter is often the expression of a strange courage which looks life in the face in all its stern reality.

A score of small towns in Belgium seem to have lost contact with the modern world. That explains the important historical buildings; the small congregations which no longer fill the naves of the Romanesque or Gothic churches; the pride of belfries at Tournai, Nivelles, and Lierre rising above humble towns; the cloth-halls and the deep attachment which the people share for their clock-tower. Louvain, the old capital of the Duchy of Brabant, has in its Hôtel de Ville the best example of fifteenth century civic architecture, and 'The Last Supper,' by Dierick Bouts, is one of the most famous paintings of the fifteenth-century Flemish school. Malines has many picturesque corners, and its Law Courts, formerly the palace of Marguerite of Austria, are the earliest specimen of Renaissance architecture in the Netherlands. Tournai is the most ancient, and from an architectural point of view, perhaps the most interesting town in Belgium, with its early Gothic cathedral and Romanesque churches. 'Belgium is the only country in Northern Europe where the visitor will discover, in a centre which seems hardly larger than an agricultural village and is deprived of all the amenities of town life, a great Gothic church, a Renaissance town hall, and sometimes even a small cloth-hall and belfry, the most characteristic monuments of mediaeval faith, mediaeval industry, and Renaissance civic spirit.' The visitor is surprised at the number of scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of local archives and customs, and at the prominent part played in local affairs by the Burgomaster and Aldermen.

Verhaeren lost his life by an accident at Rouen in 1916. He had just delivered a lecture bringing out the striking contrast between Antwerp and Bruges. He spent a few weeks in Bruges at the time of his first communion, and the silent quays, great churches, and mysterious canals

which made a profound impression upon him. It represented the mystic soul of Flanders, translated in the paintings of Jan Van Eyck and Memling, with the calm serenity of belief and the restfulness of those who have found a haven from the agitation of the world. His first visit to Antwerp showed him the ceaseless activity of the docks, the rumble of traffic, the display of strength and energy. He compared the art of Memling with the art of Rubens, the hero of Antwerp, the mighty painter who was able to assimilate the colouring of Titian and the grouping of Michael Angelo without losing his own originality, and taught them to admire both aspects of the Flemish soul, its dreams and its actions, its spirituality and its sturdiness, its mysticism and its sensuousness.

The day of prosperity in Bruges ended in the fifteenth century, and when its foreign trade passed to Antwerp it had a time of artistic efflorescence. Since that period it has had but a modest share in Belgian economic life. It had its own charm. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a professor at Louvain wrote: 'The beauty and magnificence of both public and private buildings in this town cannot be expressed. In a few words, we may say that it possesses nothing which does not delight the sight and the mind. Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, Louvain, and Malines are doubtless beautiful towns, but they are nothing compared to Bruges.' Georges Rodenbach is the Belgian writer most closely associated with the town, and to him it is like a great monastery; a shrine the more precious that it is preserved by its economic ruin. To Verhaeren it is 'made prouder, gentler, and greater by its death.'

Ghent occupies an intermediate position between Bruges and Antwerp. It is the principal centre of the textile industry, and its great Socialist Co-operative Society corresponds to the corporations which for two centuries boldly challenged the proudest princes. Maeterlinck spent his youth there. It has fine old churches, a mediaeval belfry,

and an Hôtel de Ville of the early Renaissance. Its chief artistic treasure—the ‘Adoration of the Lamb’ by the brothers Van Eyck—is preserved in the Gothic church, Saint Baron. ‘Antwerp,’ says Verhaeren, ‘is the ocean held as prisoner—in mighty docks of iron and of stone.’ Its story is written in Notre-Dame. ‘The Gothic nave bears a Renaissance spire, added at the time of the town’s greatest prosperity, when people dreamt of building a new choir as large as the whole church; but civil war broke out, and the second tower was not even completed. All the statues outside are modern, the old ones having been destroyed by the Iconoclasts, but the interior is enriched by two of Rubens’ masterpieces, “The Descent from the Cross” and “The Raising of the Cross.”’ Rubens is the true hero of Antwerp, and seems to pervade the city.

Brussels as a capital is relatively modern, though its prosperity goes back to the beginning of the twelfth century. After the decadence of Antwerp in the seventeenth century it became the largest town in Belgium, and the real capital. It combines the characteristics common to Flemings and Walloons. The number of guilds, corporations, sporting, thrift, choral, orchestral, and dramatic societies, defies imagination.

About a million and a half of the Belgian people are employed in industrial work. ‘Belgium is becoming a huge factory, which absorbs raw and unfinished material from all parts of the world, and turns out finished or semi-finished articles.’ The population grew from five millions in 1870 to seven and a half millions in 1911. Constantin Meunier’s statues, ‘Le Marteleur’ and ‘Le Puddleur,’ which appeared in 1886-7, called forth enthusiastic praise, and definitely established his reputation. ‘The workman took his place in art, and was recognized as the equal of the ancient gods.’ The ‘Hammerer’ shows him as he starts his labour; the ‘Puddler’ represents him exhausted by the task. M. Cammaerts says, ‘The Belgian Black Country is not as black as it is painted. All over Hainault

agriculture is intimately associated with industry, and in summer many factory chimneys and slack-heaps are surrounded by waving corn-fields or green patches of wood.' Most Belgian workers prefer to live some miles away from towns, so that, in spite of the extreme density of its population, Belgium is comparatively free from slums, and 'the most sincere Socialist is not proof against the joy of owning his house and digging his own garden.'

The art of Teniers represents the happy, sensuous life of Belgium. Popular revelry in his 'Kermesses' is never carried to gross excess. Pierre Breughel's humour is perhaps wider than that of any other artist, and in his 'Triumph of Death' 'his genius rises to apocalyptic visions comparable to the most vivid of Dante's dreams.' The curse of greed and power is seen in 'The Large Fishes eat the Little Ones,' and its moral is emphasized by the man in the boat who explains it to his son. The Van Eycks and their followers are deeply religious artists, but they have a keen perception of the realities of life. Heaven and earth mingle in their work. Breughel interprets the Gospel story in the light of present events. The Eastern colour which Holman Hunt took such pains to introduce is absent. Shepherds and kings wear Belgian dress. Dürer follows the same method. Christ is represented as born again every year, and seen constantly in all countries and among all kinds of people. The tendency of Belgian writers and artists to reconcile mystery or miracles with ordinary life is still very much alive. In her folk-lore, social traditions, artistic and religious spirit, Belgium combines realism with mysticism, love of Nature with love of God, to a greater degree than any other European nation. 'It is partly owing to her "modern mediaevalism" that Belgium has succeeded in making her "two worlds meet," and there is a strange and mysterious connexion between her worship of local freedom and the most sincere expressions of her spiritual aspirations.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

TROYLAND

ALL lovers of Homer, all students of archaeology, and all to whom Troy is not only a 'tale divine' but a symbol of immortal romance, are interested in that 'north-western bastion of Asia Minor' which is known as the 'Troad,' or 'Troyland.' The latter is the English rendering which Dr. W. Leaf gives to the Greek word *Troia*. Troyland, as distinguished from the city or hill-fort of Troy, or Ilium, covers the territory bounded on the north by the Sea of Marmora, on the west by the strait of the Dardanelles and the Aegean, and on the south by the Gulf of Adramyttion. On the east or landward side it can be roughly marked off from the rest of Asia Minor by a line drawn in a south-westerly direction from the mouth of the Aisepos, on the Marmora, to the head of the Gulf of Adramyttion. It is, however, to be remembered that Troyland never possessed political unity or independence; the term is applied by the early writers to the country which was supposed to be under the rule of Priam, King of Troy.

Now the city of Troy—Homer's Troy—which will ever be to the popular imagination the central attraction of Troyland, has been dug out of the earth of the hill of Hissarlik and its secret once for all disclosed. The pioneer explorer, Schliemann, and his successor, Dörpfeld, accomplished on this famous site one of the most remarkable discoveries of archaeology. Schliemann stood alone in his belief that underneath the foundations of the site of the Graeco-Roman Ilium at Hissarlik he would find Priam's citadel, which had been confidently located on the limestone cliffs of the Bally Dag several miles to the south, by Lechevalier and other explorers. His faith was brilliantly vindicated. It remained for Dörpfeld, who took up the work on Schliemann's death, to correct some of the pioneer's deductions and to identify nine *strata*, or settlements, the sixth of which was indubitably proved, from its well-preserved, massive walls, to be the site of the Mycenaean fortress of the Iliad. The whole story, illustrated by Dörpfeld's own views, is set forth in Dr. Leaf's *Troy*, a book which treats of the topography of Troy and the Troad with a masterly insight which makes it the best guide to Homeric geography for the student and lover of Homer. This he has recently supplemented with a new study of the Troad, based on the work of the famous first-century geographer, Strabo.¹

Strabo deals with the Troad in the first chapter of his Book XIII.

¹ *Strabo on the Troad*, by Walter Leaf (Cambridge Press, 25s. net).

Of this chapter Dr. Leaf gives the Greek text, and then supplies an English translation of each section, with a running commentary and critical study. Now Strabo, who apparently never visited the Troad, draws on the narrative of Demetrios of Skepsis, who was born about 205 B.C. Skepsis was a town of some thirty miles east of Alexandria Troas, where, as at Assos, Platonic and Aristotelian scholars resided ; but the interest of Demetrios was in the geography of the Troad. He composed a geographical commentary on Homer, in particular the Trojan catalogue. Dr. Leaf has the advantage over Strabo in that he has travelled over the ground he describes and personally explored the sites he has identified. The book is distinguished by the brilliant and accurate scholarship of the best Cambridge classics, while it is written and arranged in a way that will make it useful to those who are not classical scholars. The excellent illustrations which accompany the discussion of topographical problems add greatly to the interest of the text, reminding one of Professor W. Ramsay's books, which by a similar method elucidate other regions of Asia Minor.

Strabo is guilty of many errors ; he and Demetrios before him, for example, are largely responsible for the subsequent rejection of the claim of 'the Ilians' village' to be the veritable site of Homer's Troy—an amazing rejection in face of the statement of Herodotus that Xerxes 'went up to the Pergamon of Priam desiring to see it . . . and sacrificed to the Athena of Ilion.' But, leaving that matter alone, we are made to realize how rich the whole of Troyland is in material for the lover of ancient legendary lore, religion, art, literature, and history. Let us make a selection of one or two details.

First, it is clear that though the coast-line is of entrancing interest because of historical cities like Priapos, Parion, Lampsakos, Abydos, Alexandria Troas, and Assos, it is a mountain—or, rather, a mountain-range—which lends distinction and character to the landscape of Troyland. Ida was wrapped in mist the first time the present writer looked down on the plains of Troy from the heights of Erenkeui, the Kallikolone from which the gods who favoured the Trojans sat to watch the fight. But such weather, even in February, was a rare experience. One hardly ever visited the site of Troy without noticing on the southern horizon that famous summit-ridge, too gently contoured and too distant to be quite impressive, but when whitened with the winter snows, a sight to kindle the imagination as a fitting haunt of the Olympians. Strabo was correct in regarding the 'many-fountained Ida' as the key to the topography of Troyland, but mistaken in speaking of the western face as the source of its many waters. It is on the northern side that all the great rivers—Aisepos, Granikos, and Skamandros—take their rise ; only the comparatively insignificant Satnoeis has its source on the south-western side, to reach the walls of Assos and then to wind in a north-westerly curve over the Halesian plain into the Aegean.

Out of the numerous city-sites which Dr. Leaf discusses, perhaps those of Alexandria Troas and Assos—familiar names in the travels

of St. Paul—may be briefly referred to. Based on the best authorities and on personal investigations, his description of the site and remains of *Alexandria Troas*—‘the largest and most prosperous town of the Troad in Strabo’s day’—is the most complete available for the modern student. Strabo, however, passes it by as a modern city with no history, and therefore no antiquities, and without any great names attached to it. The ancient harbour was a natural bay, with an outlet into a small lagoon which opens on the sea. With Tenedos in the distance, it makes a fascinating picture. Unfortunately, its remains are scanty, Constantinople having used it as a quarry of useful material for many centuries; e.g. its stones were used by Mohammed IV in building the Yeni Valide Mosque at the Stamboul end of the Galata Bridge. Yet traces of an aqueduct, a bath, a Doric temple, a theatre, and a great sewer remain, together with portions of its magnificent walls, with square towers.

The site of Assos is even more interesting, ‘alike for its situation and for the remains of its walls one of the most conspicuous and striking in all Greek lands.’ The port is overhung by precipitous cliffs, explaining and justifying the pun which Strabo quotes from Homer—the accusative form of Assos in Greek being the same as the adverb ‘nearer’—‘To Assos (or ‘the nearer’) come, to meet with death the sooner.’ You ascend the cliffs by a steep path through a gully to the city on the heights, where sections of wonderful walls and gates exist, together with remains of a stoa, a gymnasium, and a temple. In history it first appears in the pages of Xenophon as undergoing a siege in 365 B.C. at the hands of the satraps of Lydia and Caria, when the city was in the grip of the banker-despot Euboulos. He was succeeded in the headship of Assos by an even more remarkable business man, Hermias, originally a Bithynian slave, who was sent to Athens by Euboulos to receive a University education at the feet of Plato and Aristotle. Both Aristotle and Xenocrates resided in Assos for three years till the death of Hermias. Hermias was a man of a striking character, extolled by his friends as a model of virtue and vilified by his enemies in scurrilous libels. Both paean and lampoons are extant, but Dr. Leaf states of the latter that ‘they can have no more weight against the character of Hermias than against Aristotle himself.’ These episodes in the annals of Assos are all the more interesting because its after history is a blank.

For the most part the great cities of the Troad coast-line have almost entirely vanished. Perhaps the only exception is Lampsakos—the modern village of Lapsaki—opposite the town of Gallipoli; but though to-day, or at least until recently, the children of Lapsaki cross the straits to go to school at Gallipoli, the latter was a place of little note until the Byzantine age, while Lampsakos ‘possesses the distinction unique in the Troad of having preserved both site and name with continuous habitation through more than 2,500 years.’

The interior has no such wealth of city sites as the coast. It is a sequestered, mountainous region, broken up into valleys which

radiate from the foothills of Ida and the numerous inferior ranges of the Troad. These valleys are rich and productive, and Gargara, at the south-west of Ida, between Assos and Antandros, is mentioned in Virgil as a proverb of fertility. The nature of the country forbade the making of great roads; in fact, Kiepert's map shows only two considerable roads, the chief being that which follows the coast-line of the Marmora and the Hellespont through Lampsakos, to leave the straits by Erenkeui and pass to the east of Hissarlik to the modern Ezine; thence by way of Neandria to Alexandria Troas. The section from Chanak to Ezine—the most used during the war of all the Troad roads—may well be the track which Xerxes used 2,500 years ago. The other followed the left bank of the Aisepos to Bairamitch, the modern town whence access to the western and southern parts of the Troad was easy, the objectives being respectively Troas and Adramyttion. Enough has been noted to indicate the value of Dr. Leaf's researches into the topography and history of a country which for all time will fascinate students and lovers of the ancient world.

R. MARTIN POPE.

JACOB BOEHME: SHOEMAKER AND PHILOSOPHER

THE town of Görlitz, in Silesia, has celebrated with fitting honours the tercentenary of the death (November 17, 1624), of Jacob Boehme (Behmen), the shoemaker of slight education, but of 'interior wisdom,' on whose tombstone is inscribed, 'Teutonic Philosopher.' The town council, whose predecessors, instigated by Pastor Primarius Richter, silenced Boehme for five years, has issued a memorial volume which contains an important article by Studienrat Felix Voigt. Its opening sentence is a confession that 'to-day Boehme is for science, to a large extent, an unsolved problem.' Yet Voigt, as will appear later, has done much to increase our knowledge of Boehme's writings. When, however, a scholar, who has made a special study of them makes such a statement, obviously it applies with additional force to students who depend for their knowledge of Boehme upon English works, and are compelled to own that to them he has always been and still remains, an enigma.

From the biography of Dr. Alexander Whyte we learn—what his own 'Appreciation' proves—that he found in Boehme's writings 'a daring and unflinchingly idealistic view of the world as a whole, allied with an equally penetrating and original exposition of the deep experiences of the Christian soul.' Dr. Greville Macdonald¹ informs us that his father 'taught himself Dutch, with the idea of getting nearer understanding with Jacob Boehme, whose works he had some early knowledge of. . . . Certainly in *Lilith*, as in many other books, we may often suspect an understanding of the Teutonic

¹ *George Macdonald and his Wife*, p. 587.

philosopher's thoughts.' To these most recent expressions of indebtedness to Boehme many of earlier date might be added. But there are discordant voices which claim a hearing. 'Wesley and Southey, and even Hallam himself,' says Dr. Whyte, 'jest and flout and call names.' This witness is true, save that Wesley's condemnation of Boehme is too serious to be called jesting.

Wesley's most frequently quoted sentence describes 'the whole of Behmenism' as 'most sublime nonsense, unmitigated bombast, fustian not to be paralleled.' Dr. Workman rightly recognizes that Wesley's denunciations do sometimes 'degenerate into unfairness.' But even his more moderate criticisms do not apply to 'the whole of Behmenism,' of which Overton says that he 'had but a very imperfect knowledge.' It is to the speculative side of Boehme's philosophy that Wesley's strictures refer, whereas Whyte's eulogies are limited to its practical and experimental side. This is evident from his warning to students of Boehme that 'they will have to learn an absolutely new and unheard-of language if they would speak with Boehme and have Boehme speak with them. For Boehme's books are written neither in German nor in English of any age or idiom, but in the most original and uncouth Behmenese.'

In the *Arminian Magazine* (1782) Wesley selects Boehme's *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer* as furnishing a justification of his severest criticisms. The following is the comment on a single petition :

'Dein Reich komme
(Thy Kingdom come)

'*Dein* : then the soul gives itself into the will of God.

'*Reich* : here it gives itself into the virtue of the angelical world.

'*Komme* : in the syllable *kom* it goes into the virtue, and with the syllable *me* it goes into the Kingdom as a sprout, for *me* makes the lips to be open.'

Only one answer can be given to Wesley's question : 'Whether any man, in his senses, from the beginning of the world, ever thought of explaining any treatise, divine or human, syllable by syllable?' But to a further question a negative answer cannot be given without qualification, namely : 'Whether we may not pronounce . . . that the light which is in him is darkness, that he is illuminated from beneath rather than from above, and that he ought to be styled a *Demonosopher* rather than a *Theosopher*.' An instructive and welcome comment on this regrettable calling of names is supplied by Wesley himself in his correspondence¹ with Henry Brooke, the nephew of the author of the novel, *The Fool of Quality*, which Wesley abridged. Brooke had taken exception to Wesley's language—*Demonosopher*—and the gracious reply is : 'I sincerely thank you for your kind reproof. . . . The words you mention are too strong; they will no more fall from my mouth.'

¹ *Letters of John Wesley*, edited by George Eayrs, p. 400.

Herr Voigt's study¹ of *Boehme and his Times* lays special stress on his environment. In the valleys of Silesia there dwell to-day 'odd, meditative, reserved men, whose rich, inward, religious experience has often eccentric manifestations.' Johannes Scheffler—as his self-chosen name, Angelus Silesius, signifies—was a native of this region. The mystical poet was introduced by Boehme's friend, Abraham von Frankenberg, to the shoemaker-prophet's writings, and became intellectually his most distinguished disciple. Paul Gerhardt, the great hymn-writer, found his last refuge from 'storm and stress' in this rural area, and there became familiar with the thought-world of the mystics. After mentioning other names, Voigt refers to Gerhart Hauptmann as a present-day typical Silesian, whose novel *Emanuel Quint* is distinguished for its 'refined wisdom, heartfelt piety and mystical intuition.'

Voigt is of opinion that Boehme over-estimated the originality of his writings, and that, without detracting from his merits as an imaginative genius, his admirers must admit that there is 'a certain amount of vanity' in his protestations that he lacks bookish knowledge and that his ideas are derived 'from my own book, that has been opened within me.' Dr. Rufus Jones, in his lucid and appreciative study² of Boehme, has expressed a similar judgement. 'He was a recipient of inspirations which fired and fused his soul, but he was obviously using the stock of ideas which his generation, and those early and late before it, had made part of the necessary air men breathe.'

Voigt acknowledges in his summary of Boehme's view of God and the world that there is much difficulty in arranging his ideas in generic and systematic order. His repetitions are sometimes due to improvements in the statement of his thoughts, but sometimes they arise from changes in his views, and sometimes they must be classified as discrepancies. In this connexion it may be noted that Boehme himself, contrasted his crude work, *Aurora*—i.e. the Morning Glow—with his later and more mature treatises, written as in broad daylight, and claimed that 'each book from the first is ten times deeper.' The conclusion to which Voigt's investigations have led him is that Paul Deussen, in his popular work³ has not done full justice to Boehme in describing his system as 'pantheistic and dualistic'; Voigt cites passages which support his view that it is more correct to say that it is 'panentheistic,' and that Boehme is a 'Theocentric Monist.'

The proceedings at the tercentenary celebration are symbolical of the revived interest in Boehme. In direct opposition to Spengler, Voigt refuses to regard this as a sign of decadence. At the grave-side of Boehme the singing was led by the choir of St. Peter's Church, from whose pulpit he was harshly denounced as a fanatical heretic.

¹ *Beiträge zum Verständniss Jacob Boehmes, vom Wesen seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner Gedankenwelt*, 1924.

² *Spiritual Reformers in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 206.

³ *Jacob Boehme*, iv. Auflage, 1924.

A Lutheran minister, however, said 'Love and humility were his sword' at the consecration of a banner in his honour by the Görlitz Guild of Shoemakers. Indeed, Voigt thinks that Pfarrer Bornkamm has recently exaggerated Boehme's dependence on Luther. 'The religion of Luther had an ethical, that of Boehme a cosmic, almost a naturalistic basis. . . . Though he was not a Pantheist, Nature had a prominent place in his teaching, and in this respect he does not derive from Luther, but from the Renaissance philosophy.'

There is a growing consensus of regret that Boehme's paracelsian phraseology should have hindered many from worthily appreciating the 'beautiful patches of spiritual insight' which relieve his more difficult and dreary writings. Dr. Whyte dwells enthusiastically upon these aspects of his teaching, and there can be little doubt that, if Wesley had penetrated through the thicket of verbiage inherited from alchymists and astrologers, he would have agreed with Dr. Rufus Jones¹ that 'Boehme's accounts of his own experience, and his message of the way to God, possess an elemental and universal value, and belong among the precious words of the prophets of the race.' It is good for Christians of every name and of every country to be reminded of his insistence on the necessity of personal and inward experience, 'Jesus Christ in us,' and none need hesitate to join their German brethren in giving thanks for 'the flashes of insight, the simple wisdom, and the brave sincerity' of Jacob Boehme, of whom Hegel spoke as 'a man of a mighty mind,' whose piety was 'in the highest degree deep and inward.'

J. G. TASKER.

CONURBATIONS: A STUDY OF THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL CITIES

IN the Middle Ages and the period preceding the Industrial Revolution the requirements for a large town or city were comparatively simple. Leaving out of account the early *desideratum* of a wall and a castle for purposes of defence, it may be said that a town contained a church, or churches, under the shadow of which was a market, and a sort of 'town centre,' where the main business of the region, whether commercial, judicial, or legislative, was carried on. This centre also included store or warehouses for the staple or produce of the district, and supplied, in the rooms above these premises, a dwelling for the owner, with his wife and family. The more purely residential houses of the town were generally surrounded by gardens, though easily accessible recreation-grounds, consisting of the green fields and woodlands of the surrounding districts, came right up to the encircling walls.

This simple form of town life should now be compared with the modern industrial city, a product of that Revolution which so increased our population and our manufacturing energies. Clearly

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

the heart of the Industrial City, the point of convergence of the main traffic of the district, with its atmosphere of bustle and noise, its buildings for the operations of law, banking, commerce, and trade, its warehouses and its offices—in short, the representation within a limited area of the many interests of the complicated community—is not the place in which the merchant and the well-to-do will choose to live, quite apart from the fact that the modern crowding of so much business into a limited space puts a heavy premium upon the rent of the rooms above the warehouses or offices. The rattle of modern machinery, the heat of the furnaces, the fumes of the smoke, in their turn drive the factory-owner to a quiet dwelling on the outskirts of the town.

An examination of a suitable map of Great Britain will show that there are extensive areas of enormous population. These areas are mostly co-existent with our coal-fields, and though their industries vary considerably, they have this much in common—the prominence given to one specific manufacture. South Lancashire is concerned with the cotton trade in its various branches, the West Riding with woollens, the Tyneside with shipbuilding and associated engineering enterprises, and so on. Two industrial regions taken in some detail will suffice to indicate the cause and manner of these concentrations of population.

Our first illustration will be the cotton area of Lancashire, a district heavily threaded by railways, roads, and canals. A list of towns in the southern part of the county would include Rochdale, Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Wigan, St. Helens, Liverpool, Salford-Manchester, Warrington, Stalybridge, Stockport; Macclesfield also belongs to this same trade area or economic province. Liverpool is the great port of entry for the raw material—cotton—though Manchester, by virtue of its ship canal, likewise claims to be considered a sea-port. Farther north, in the valley of the River Ribble system, there is another group of towns—Colne-Nelson-Burnley, Accrington, Darwen, Blackburn, Preston. Both these groups, with the exception of the port Liverpool, are engaged in the manufacture of 'Manchester goods,' but, owing to the slight increase of dryness, weaving takes the place of cotton spinning in the Ribble Valley, e.g. at Blackburn and Preston, while Bolton spins fine threads and Oldham (less marine) coarse ones. Rochdale, also near the Yorkshire border, has a flannel industry; Oldham and Salford, in addition, specialize in the manufacture of spinning and weaving machines; and at St. Helens and Widnes chemicals are made (with Cheshire salt as basis) for the purpose of dyeing and printing the cotton cloth. To Manchester, the great organizing centre of the region, the raw cotton is sent, to be distributed to the localities that require it, and when the cotton has been spun and the threads woven into cloth, to Manchester the cotton returns in the shape of manufactured articles for export to places at home and abroad. Twice a week, in the Manchester Royal Exchange, four thousand cotton masters from the towns of the area do the monetary business of their great industry.

This area, so full of work, would not be completed without its opportunities for recreation. To the west of Manchester and across the Cheshire border are the residential suburbs of Eccles, Altrincham, and Knutsford. Farther afield are Blackpool, Southport, the Isle of Man, Llandudno, and the coast of North Wales, all 'holiday towns' serving the huge industrial population for its annual repose from labour.

It is clear from the above remarks that the South Lancashire Coalfield is an economic province complete in itself—an agglomeration of towns whose separate industries, whether of mining, spinning, weaving, or dyeing, &c., are part of a corporate whole, lying, it might almost be said, on the spokes of a wheel of which Manchester is the great centre, and as one can no more think of the centre of a wheel without its spokes, so the wealth and trade of Manchester cannot be considered apart from the separated manufacturing localities to which its greatness is due.

This aggregation of associated industries, depending in part upon natural resources, and in part upon some other factor or factors, such as climate or geographical position, is common to nearly all our coalfields, and as springing into existence since the Industrial Revolution may be regarded as a modern phase of our national life. But when the various parts of such an 'agglomeration' are analysed, the economic province so defined will be found to have a new significance. The case of the cotton area described above is typical. In Manchester we have the great 'town centre,' with its cathedral, its celebrated library, its Royal Exchange, its courts of justice; around it, from Blackburn and Preston to Stalybridge and Stockport, from Oldham to Widnes, what are the towns but gigantic workshops, feeding the centre with their 'associated industries'? What is Liverpool but the gateway through which the great staple enters the district, whose residential suburbs extend across the Mersey into Cheshire? This agglomeration of towns, therefore, fulfils all the definitions of a modern Industrial City, and such a phenomenon is aptly designated a 'conurbation.' It has been proposed to call this industrial unit, of which Manchester is the heart, by the expressive name of 'Lancaston.'

The Conurbation of Lancaston is characterized by the unique *largenesses* illustrated by the following qualities of some of its component parts: 'After London, Liverpool is the first port in the kingdom'; 'Preston has the largest cotton mills in the world'; 'Blackburn weaves more calico than any other town'; 'Manchester (Cottonopolis, or the Cotton metropolis) is the centre of the world's cotton industry.'

Our second conurbation lies in the very heart of England. 'Midlanton' may be regarded as a less prosaic name for that dark agglomeration of towns and people known as the Black Country. It is based upon the South Staffordshire Coalfield, being one gigantic workshop both above ground and below. The district is thus described: 'At night it is lurid with the flames of iron furnaces;

by day it appears one vast, loosely-knit town of humble homes, amid cinder-heaps and fields stripped of vegetation by smoke and flames.' The life of the region centres round Birmingham, also the great trade centre of the Midlands. In the early days the position of Birmingham, far away from the banks of any large, navigable river, limited the weight of its articles of export and import; but as timber and iron ore were at hand, its energies were naturally turned to the making of hardware, involving either small goods such as nails, or objects connected with horse transport, such as bits, bridles, &c. Clearly its central position in the Midland Plain would cause much of this kind of traffic to come its way.

The trade of Birmingham made it profitable for the canal makers to link it to the great navigable waterways, and its central position brought added importance when the great railways were built across the country. But, even with its home supplies of coal and iron, the making of heavy goods is still a difficulty where only 'artificial' transport is possible, and Birmingham is compelled even in these modern times to use material whose weight is far below the labour spent upon it—articles such as pins, pens, needles, screws, watch-springs, &c.—or to deal in rolling-stock easily removed on the railway.

Round this 'centre' is a group of dependent, industrial towns for which Birmingham acts as market. To the north lies Stafford, engaged in that eminently 'transport' industry, bootmaking; to the north-east is Burton-on-Trent, supplying the thirsty workmen of this locality (and others) with ale; eastward are Tamworth and Nuneaton, on a small detached coalfield, and therefore engaged in the iron industry; southward is Coventry, where cycles, motor-cars, and now aeroplanes—still 'transport' industries—are made; south-west is Bromsgrove, busy with nailmaking—once only for the hoofs of horses—and Redditch, famous for needles. West lies Kidderminster, of carpet renown (and, according to an Eastern legend, even a carpet may be a mode of transport!).

Birmingham itself shares with its three suburbs in the production of railway rolling-stock of first quality; and the same may be said of Wolverhampton, the capital of the Black Country. At Walsall, where there is locally fine casting sand, an important harness industry is carried on. Of this great conurbation, outlying Malvern and Leamington may be regarded as residential suburbs. It extends, therefore, over a considerable portion of territory.

Allowing for differences in the nature of the material output, what has been said of Lancastown and Midlanton applies equally to the conurbations of all our coalfields. The Classic City has long since overspread the limits set by its ancient founders, and to-day one would seek in vain for the green hill just outside the City 'walls.' Even the Industrial City to which it gave place is becoming a thing of the past, and the oft-repeated boast that we have become a great manufacturing nation will carry with it as corollary the reduction of the number of our great towns to four or five, albeit their extent will be that of a former province.

E. H. CARRIER.

THE SPELL OF THE BRONTËS

THE singular spell of the Brontës still persists and shows no sign of weakening. Far from vanishing, it rather grows. The great publishing house of Murray issues in their thin-paper series the standard 'Haworth' edition of the Works of the three sisters and a selection made by Mr. A. C. Benson from the Poems, not only of the sisters, but of the hapless brother, with a characteristically fine introduction from Mr. Benson's pen. Wherein does the spell of the Brontës lie? It is a spell most difficult to analyse. Many elements enter into it: the contrast between the plain, bare Parsonage and the intense life lived within it; the isolation of that life, and the strange contradiction between the shy seclusion of the writers and the character of their work—so elemental, powerful, passionate, penetrating. At every point we are met by psychological puzzles which fascinate the mind, and to which it returns with undying interest and unabated zest. For myself, I can say that I have been under that spell of the Brontës for as far back as memory goes. I was born within three miles of the Haworth Parsonage while Charlotte Brontë was still living within its walls. My mother was 'christened' in the old Haworth Church by Charlotte Brontë's father. Both my parents, and many of my relatives, knew all the Brontë family 'by sight,' and frequently attended service in the Haworth Church. I have often heard them speak of the corpse-like appearance in the pulpit of the austere old rector, his neck swathed in fold on fold of silk cravat. As a child, I was familiar with the Haworth of the Brontës. I have been in the room of the Parsonage where the sisters read and wrote, and have often traversed the path they followed from the Parsonage to their dearly loved moors. The dialect of *Shirley* and of *Wuthering Heights* is the dialect with which my young ears were daily familiar. Often have I lingered in the Brontë Museum, gazing at the relics—many of them so pathetic—that are treasured there. I can distinctly remember some of the persons to whom Charlotte Brontë's letters are addressed, and many more of the persons referred to in her letters. I have conversed with many who, like my parents, could remember the Brontë family, but it was surprising how little of definite information any of them could give. They could all speak of the dissipation of the brother, and of the extreme shyness, reserve, and isolation of the sisters; of their fragile appearance and disinclination to be approached or spoken to. But, in truth, it was not until after the sisters were dead, and strangers began to visit Haworth and to make inquiries about the haunts and habits of the sisters, that the people on the spot woke up to the fact that the three odd-looking daughters of the crusty old rector were anything out of the common. They had always regarded them as eccentric; but never dreamed that they were geniuses, and that the tallest was the greatest woman-genius of her century.

I have often since greatly regretted that I did not preserve notes

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of my talks, long ago, with those who saw the Brontës in the flesh. But, as I have said, they, somehow, had little to tell. More than one explained to me that they 'hadn't taken particular notice of them,' because they had no idea, at the time, that they were anything else than very quaint and shy recluses, who wished above all things to be left alone. But of my very *last* such talk I *did* make a note, and here it is :

'11th June, 1914. Chat with Mrs. H——, born at Haworth 1837. Well remembers the Brontës, Mr. Nicholls, and the servant Martha. Doesn't wish to be uncharitable, and *hopes* that old Mr. Brontë was a Christian, but thinks he was hard, stern, and "near" (i.e., niggardly); and that home was not too pleasant for the sisters. Well remembers the three. Emily was the tallest and most reserved. Was eleven when Emily died. Had a married sister who lived in a farm-house near the Brontë waterfall. The three sisters often dropped in for rest and tea, when out on the moor. Sister thought them very nice, but "made nothing of them," "going in and out of the room in her clogs," and making no fuss. Thinks the sisters were glad to be out of the Parsonage, with its gloom and care, and away from the harsh father and the profligate brother.'

So far Mrs. H——. Another with whom I spoke had been a scholar in Charlotte Brontë's Sunday-school class. Another remembered Miss Brontë's visits to the day-school to examine the girls' sewing. Another was present at Miss Brontë's wedding and remembered how fragile and small she looked. Several remembered well her funeral. Yet another spoke of her small and almost transparent hands. None had been intimate with any one of the three, and it was just such general and vague impressions as these that lingered in their memories. On the whole, I may claim, I think, to know something of the Brontë 'atmosphere' and of the Brontë environment.

I have been most strongly attracted by the sister who, as Mr. Benson says, must always be regarded as a deep enigma. Her one novel is an amazing production, and I think it is Dr. John Brown, of *Rab and his Friends*, who says the truest word concerning it. Writing very soon after its appearance, he says, 'Have you read *Wuthering Heights*—carefully? I did so last week, and think it is a work of the highest genius. If it had been in the form of a tragedy, it would have been the noblest bit of intensity and passion and human nature, in the rough and wild, since Shakespeare. It is far above *Jane Eyre*.' Dr. Brown, it will be noticed, lays stress upon the need of reading the work carefully. A cursory reader will be probably repelled by what he will deem to be its wildness and coarseness; but one who reads it with care will see and feel that, while it is surcharged with passion, it is a passion which, as even Swinburne could say, 'has nothing less pure in it than flame and sunlight'; and Swinburne writes glowingly of its 'passionate and ardent chastity.' Dr. Robertson Nicoll wrote of Emily Brontë that her mind was as virginal as that of Di Vernon. But indeed this

chastity of thought and emotion is a characteristic of each of the sisters. The reputation of poor Charlotte Brontë has suffered in many quarters from the comparatively recent publication of her letters to M. Héger. They have been described as 'love letters.' They are most surely nothing of the kind. They are the ardent outpourings of a perfectly pure hero-worship—admiration and esteem of the first man of brain and culture outside her own circle she had come in contact with, and of the man whose teaching and personality had awakened her slumbering genius. Did not Thackeray, another of Charlotte Brontë's 'heroes,' say of her, 'she gave me the impression of being a very pure and lofty and high-minded person'?

But to return to Emily: Mr. Benson holds that it is in her poetry, fragmentary, occasional, and unfinished as it is, that we have the fullest expression of her genius. The language of poetry was her natural language. It is true that her poems, as we have them, are to a large extent merely rough drafts and sketches. She was as careless about her MSS. as Shakespeare himself—wrote just as the mood and occasion moved her, and then never troubled further to revise or collect her pieces. We owe their collection and preservation first to the love and care of her elder sister, and then to the patient research of Mr. Clement Shorter, who published the *Complete Poems of Emily Brontë* in 1910. But her genius shines in her slightest sketches. As Mr. Benson says, 'there are lines which glow and sparkle like gems with hidden wells of lucent fire.' I, too, can say with him that a prolonged study of her poems has 'made me feel a sense of preciousness and power about her lightest touches.'

The key to the mystery of Emily Brontë lies in the fact that she was essentially a religious mystic. It was Miss May Sinclair who, I believe, first drew attention to this fundamental fact about her; and Mr. Benson speaks of her profound and daring mysticism. The all-too-scanty glimpses that we gain of her spirit give the impression of a most powerful, indomitable soul beating against bars of limitation and straining after oneness with the Infinite. Miss Sinclair holds that she hungered and thirsted after the Absolute; but I am satisfied, from a prolonged study of her verse, that for Emily Brontë the Absolute was the God of the Bible. If Mr. Clement Shorter is right in assigning the verses 'In Memory of a Happy Day in February,' begun in the February and finished in the November of 1845, to Emily, that is placed beyond question. (Mr. Hatfield, who has just edited the poems of the family, says they are by Anne.) I hold that Swinburne's interpretation of the famous 'Last Lines' is the true one, and that those lines contain 'her last ardent confession of dauntless and triumphant faith'—her faith in a personal God and in the personal and positive immortality of the individual soul. In their different way, these 'Last Lines' are quite as amazing as *Wuthering Heights*. As Miss Sinclair forcibly puts it, 'This woman, destitute, so far as can be known, of all metaphysical knowledge or training, reared in the narrowest and least metaphysical of creeds, did yet contrive to express in one poem of four irregular verses . . .

an image and a vision of the Transcendent Reality that holds as in crystal all the philosophies that were ever worthy of the name.' And, more recently, Dean Inge, in his *Confessio Fidei*, has said of these lines that they contain a *true* philosophy.

Verily, that tall, shy, awkward figure that my parents so frequently saw passing their door, usually in company with her two shorter sisters, was a giantess in genius and in intellect. Very interesting are the two portraits of Emily, so beautifully reproduced in Mr. Benson's little volume. They are from photographs taken immediately after the discovery of her brother's long-lost canvases. In the second, especially, we feel that we see, in spite of the unskilled workmanship, something of her whose soul, as Matthew Arnold wrote,

Knew no fellow for might,
Passion, vehemence, grief,
Daring . . .

and whose solitary earth-pilgrimage was so peculiarly a 'flight of the alone to the Alone.'

A. DICKINSON.

In an article on 'The Present Position of the Church of England' (*Edinburgh Review*, January), Dean Inge holds that Dr. Headlam's position (see Note in our January number) is 'the old principle of the *via media* ably and fearlessly applied to present-day conditions.' He thinks 'the attempt which is now being made to drag Anglicanism away from its history and traditions will fail. The ship will right itself by degrees,' and the chief influence in restoring the balance will be the new school of Liberal Evangelicalism. The strength of Protestantism 'lies in personal devotion to Christ, and in the duty of individual judgement under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth.' 'The Protestant Churchman would welcome friendly co-operation with other Protestant bodies, especially with the Scottish Presbyterians and the Wesleyans, from whom he is not separated by any doctrinal differences of importance. Mutual recognition of each other's commissions, interchange of pulpits, occasional inter-communion, and co-operation in moral and social work, as well as in all branches of theological study, represent about all that is possible or desirable in the way of reunion, and but for the Anglo-Catholics, this *rapprochement* would be easy.'

The Word and the Work, by Mr. Studdert Kennedy (Longmans, 2s. 6d.) bears witness to the spiritual life of the Church of England. It is based on the opening verses of the Fourth Gospel, which contain profounder wisdom than any words ever written by man. Mr. Kennedy keeps us in close touch with the problems of sin and poverty, but he shows how faith in Christ, and especially in the Cross, supplies the key to the problems of the world. A new Birth without a Crucifixion is impossible, a Crucifixion without a Resurrection would drive any human being mad. The volume is suitable for Lent reading.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins. Treating of the Manuscript, Traditions, Sources, Authorship, and Dates.
By Burnett Hillman Streeter, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 21s. net.)

CANON STREETER feels that the time is ripe for an attempt to co-ordinate the results reached in various specialized branches of research, such as textual criticism, source-analysis, the cultural background of the early Church, and the psychology of mysticism, so far as they bear on the origin of the Gospels. He here sets out his researches in two of these fields of study, for the benefit of the educated layman who is willing to undertake a piece of rather solid reading, provided it does not demand previous technical knowledge, and for the student who desires an introduction to Textual Criticism, to the Synoptic problem, and the Johannine question in the light of recent research. He also submits his own original research to the judgement of experts. His identification of the text found in the new Koridethi MS. Θ, and its allies, with the text in use at Caesarea about A.D. 280 he regards as his own most original, and perhaps most important, contribution to the study of the manuscripts. It supplies the coping-stone of the arch in that reconstruction of the various local texts of the Gospels current in the early Church at which scholars have been working for a generation, and leads on to a conception of the history of the text during the first three centuries which differs as much from that of Westcott and Hort as from the more recent view of von Soden. The result is materially to broaden the basis of early evidence for the recovery of an authentic text. A variety of conclusions suggest that the Gospels were originally local Gospels, circulated separately, and authoritative only in certain areas. The tradition which assigns Mark to Rome and John to Ephesus may safely be accepted. That connecting Luke with Greece and Matthew with Palestine is perhaps no more than conjectural. Matthew may with greater probability be connected with Antioch. This subject is dealt with in the opening chapter on 'The Selected Four.' Then we come to 'Local and Standard Texts,' in which the maximum of divergence was probably reached about A.D. 200, and is reflected in the oldest Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian versions. The standardization of the text is described, and it is pointed out that many cursives are quite as important as any uncials, after the first five. The Churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were the frontier stations of Greek-speaking Christianity, and a scientific

study of the text of the New Testament must start from that point. The uncial Θ was discovered in a remote valley in the Caucasus, where it had long been a kind of village fetish. At a much earlier date it belonged to a monastery at Koridethi, at the far end of the Black Sea. Its complete text only became available for students in 1918. Though neither so old nor so pure as Ι or the Sinaitic Syriac, it supplies a missing link, and enables us to see the real connexion between certain cursives, the exceptional character of which has long been an enigma to the critic. The readings of the family Θ seem to give the text read at Caesarea about A.D. 280 in an extremely pure form. An interesting chapter on 'Interpolation and Assimilation' points out 'the fallacy of the shorter text.' In a study of the Synoptic problem Canon Streeter places next in importance to the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke the conclusion that Q and Mark overlapped. The non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke contained certain items which also appear in Mark, but in a different version. Luke himself may have combined Q with his own record, and may, at a subsequent date, have enlarged this Proto-Luke, by incorporating large extracts from Mark and prefixing an account of the infancy. A four-document hypothesis is put forth. If Mark is the old Roman Gospel it is antecedently to be expected that the other Gospels conserve the specific traditions of Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Antioch. Verification of this hypothesis, as against the two-document hypothesis that the First and Third Gospels made use of Mark and Q, must depend entirely on the results of a critical study of the documents apart from any theory as to the geographical affiliation of any particular source. A quite illusory pre-eminence has been ascribed to Q, and the possible absence from it of the longer narrative parables has led some scholars to conclude that such parables formed no part of our Lord's original teaching. A chapter is given to the reconstruction of Q, and another deals with the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. If the chase of the phantom Ur-Marcus is abandoned, the study of the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark becomes the highway to the recovery of the purest text of the Gospels. Canon Streeter thinks 'the Fourth Gospel should not be classed among works definitely historical in intention; it belongs to the Library of Devotion. The author is a Christocentric mystic, conscious of prophetic inspiration. In him are combined the religious experience of the Hebrew prophet and the philosophic mysticism of the school of Plato.' The masterful way in which the author deals with the narratives of his predecessors indicates that he was recognized as possessing a claim to write with independent authority. Canon Streeter ascribes the Gospel to John the Elder, a disciple of the Apostle. This hypothesis, he holds, adequately explains the internal evidence, and accords with evidence that John the Apostle was martyred in Jerusalem. Here he will fail to carry conviction to many readers who feel that the martyrdom tradition is by no means reliable. His reverie on John xxi. is very beautiful, though it confessedly

strays from the paths of stern historical method. The concluding part of the volume is devoted to Synoptic Origins. Mark is assigned approximately to A.D. 65; Matthew to 85; Luke to about 90. 'The burden of proof is on those who would assert the traditional authorship of Matthew and John, and on those who would deny it in the case of Mark and Luke.' The volume will engage the close attention of students, and, whatever verdict they pass on Canon Streeter's theories, they will feel deeply grateful for such a masterly investigation of the whole subject.

The Theory of Good and Evil. By Hastings Rashdall, D.D. Second Edition. 2 vols. (Oxford University Press. 18s.)

It is nearly twenty years ago since the first edition of this now standard work was published. Appearing in 1907, it made its way at once to the front, not as a text-book or manual, but as the best modern, carefully reasoned treatise on moral philosophy produced in this country. To say this implies no depreciation of Green's *Prolegomena* and Sidgwick's *Methods* on the one hand, or of the excellent brief handbooks of D'Arcy, Muirhead, and Mackenzie. Dr. Rashdall dedicated his work to the memory of Green and Sidgwick, as his teachers; and the impress on his mind of the two great Oxford and Cambridge professors is plainly visible. By temperament he was, like Sidgwick, judicial and critical, even to a fault. He is never an advocate pleading to secure a verdict. The student of ethics who wants a short cut to unchallengeable conclusions must look elsewhere. But one who desires a careful, detached inquiry into the deep questions of moral philosophy will turn again and again to Dr. Rashdall's treatise, as embodying some of the best results attained by Sidgwick and Green, with intrinsic excellences of its own. We are glad that now, soon after the author's lamented death, a second edition has appeared. It is in the main a reprint of the first, while it embodies certain corrections 'incorporated from a copy marked by the author.' The value of the book has not been diminished by the lapse of years. It still provides the student with the best available discussion of the grounds of Hedonism, Rational Utilitarianism, and Intuitionism, and other ethical systems, in their more recent forms. Its chapters on Justice, on Punishment and Forgiveness, and on Free Will are masterly, though they will disappoint those who look for portable, ready-made conclusions. The profound questions raised by the relations between religion and morality on the one hand, and metaphysic and morality on the other, as well as the cardinal topic of morality and revolution, are here discussed in an admirable spirit, and will provide instruction for many readers who are not satisfied with the results actually attained. We may add that some of the questions which Christians desire to investigate more carefully are handled by Dr. Rashdall in a smaller volume of Haskell lectures (1915) entitled *Conscience and*

Christ. Students of philosophy and of questions which lie on the borderland between *Religion and Philosophy* will find a volume by Dr. Rashdall with that title very useful. His *Theory of Good and Evil* in this new second edition remains, however, the distinguished author's main contribution to moral philosophy, and it forms a characteristic monument to his memory.

The Old Testament. A New Translation. By James Moffatt, D.D. Vol. II., Job to Malachi. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

The second volume of Dr. Moffatt's translation is a severer test of his work than the first. Preachers will turn with special interest to Job xix. 25, where Eyob burst forth with his confidence in God's vindication :

Still, I know one to champion me at last, to stand up for me upon earth,
This body may break up, but even then my life shall have a sight of God ;
My heart is pining as I yearn to see him on my side,
See him estranged no longer.

The Revised Version gave new meaning to Job's description of the miner's art in chap. xx., and Dr. Moffatt adds some touches which deepen the impression.

Men search the darkness to its depth,
and in the pitchy gloom for stones they grope ;
they run a shaft down far from daylight,
they hang below, swinging upon a rope.
A harvest comes out of the earth below,
when the miner blasts it under ground,
Sapphires lie among its stones,
and he picks up lumps of gold.

The version is not intended for public reading. It is infelicitous at many points, when compared with the Authorized and the Revised Versions, but it always sets us thinking and delving into the true meaning of the text. Isaiah liii. loses some of its sacred music, but it has its own impressiveness :

We thought him suffering from a stroke
at God's own hand ;
yet he was wounded because we had sinned.
'twas our misdeeds that crushed him ;
'twas for our welfare that he was chastised,
the blows that fell on him have brought us healing.
Like sheep we had all gone astray,
we had each taken his own way,
and the Eternal laid on him the guilt of all of us.

Every page of the Psalter has its suggestive touches, though Ps. i. 8 ends with 'whatsoever he does, he prospers.' It does not hold to the metaphor of the tree, as Dr. Dury Geden used to teach, ' whatsoever it doeth, ripens.' Ps. xxiii. begins :

The Eternal shepherds me, I lack for nothing ;
he makes me lie in meadows green,
he leads me to refreshing streams,
and revives life in me.

The valley of the shadow of death is 'a glen of gloom,' and the last verse reads :

Yes, and all through my life
Goodness and Kindness wait on me,
the Eternal's guest,
within his household evermore.

Ladies will turn to the closing words of Proverbs :

Charms may wane and beauty wither,
keep your praise for a wife with brains ;
give her due credit for her deeds,
praise her in public for her services.

Gleams of light shine around many familiar verses, and make this a translation to be treasured and consulted by every student and teacher. This was Dr. Moffatt's purpose, and it will not lack fulfilment.—*Literary Genius of the Old Testament*. By P. C. Sands. (Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. net.) The head master of Pocklington School here provides a subsidiary course of lessons to those usually taken for the School Certificate Examination. He analyses the main literary features of the Old Testament, and shows the grounds on which we admire its most popular stories and poems. It is the outcome of the concentrated thought of a number of writers who 'brooded upon God.' Four chapters deal with the prose, and six with the poetry; the last four sections are on Irony and Style in the Old Testament, the Wisdom Literature, and Selected Passages for Additional Study. It is a book that teachers and scholars will prize and enjoy.

Knowledge and Virtue. By P. N. Waggett, M.A., D.D. (Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

The four Hulsean Lectures delivered in 1920 and 1921 are a plea for religious knowledge as the remedy for weaknesses which still hinder the vigorous prosecution of peace. Force or compulsion must give way to the direct action of truth upon the intelligence of man. Here are 'some inspiring notes of hope and courage like those that lately announced from Lambeth a new temper of brotherhood in nations and Churches and called it into action. But mingled with these, and almost drowning them, is a general cry of sorrow and dismay.' Peace has come, but it does not content or unite us. Dr. Waggett feels that the failure is partial, and the disappointment unreasonable. We have forgotten God, and do not acknowledge Him in all our ways. The second lecture inquires what the knowledge is that St. Paul regarded as the sufficient remedy for the sin and weakness of believing persons and a believing society. The potential energy of the Christian state is to be liberated by a knowledge of the purpose of God, of His redeeming power 'measured only by the sovereignty of Godhead in the Manhood of Christ.' Courage to look with clear, untroubled eyes upon the world and

their own hearts is the gift of grace awaiting the new generations who will use larger stores of sacred and of natural science with an undaunted trust in the spiritual meaning and the spiritual forces of life, untroubled by the cramping postures of party. The last lecture dwells on the advantages to be received from the difficulties of faith. If Scripture becomes 'once more convincing to men who have despaired of reading it in good faith, the ways of prayer and communion will, on the other hand, be kept safe from wandering, and restrained from vanity and from waste. Prayer and fellowship will be held in close accord. Holding fast the Head we shall become strong in mutual service, in combined duty.' Dr. Waggett has a timely message, and he delivers it in an arresting and stimulating way.

The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead. By Sir J. G. Frazer, F.R.S., F.B.A. Vol. III. The Belief among the Micronesians. (Macmillan & Co. 18s. net.)

Micronesia means 'the little islands,' and is the name given to several archipelagos of islands, none of which exceeds a few miles in length and breadth, widely dispersed over the Western Pacific, to the east of the Philippines, to the south of Japan, and to the north and north-east of New Guinea and Melanesia. Most of the islands are of coral formation, and rise only a few feet above the sea. On the whole the people are shorter and fairer than their kinsfolk the Polynesians, with more vivacious countenances, and more agile and delicate frames. Women do comparatively little work, and ill-treatment by a husband is almost unknown. In many of the islands descent is traced, and property passes, from the mother, not the father. After an interesting account of their arts and crafts and the megalithic monuments in the Caroline Islands, Sir James describes the belief in immortality in the various islands. The Gilbert Islanders thought the destiny of the soul in the other world depended not a little on its good or bad conduct in this. They believed that the dead returned to that land on earth from which their ancestors were said to have come, and chased the ghost in that direction, to assist it in finding its way to its last home in the spirit land. The Marshall Islanders believe that the soul abides with the body in the grave for six days before setting out for its long home. If it appears in the form of a large canoe at the ghostly Island, it will be a living spirit, and, passing over the low stone wall which encircles the island, it will continue to live there on a diet of crabs' spawn. Interesting descriptions are given of rites of burial and mourning, and of the magical rites combined with a belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead and a desire to propitiate them. The beliefs of the Caroline and Mortlock Islanders, of the Ponapeans, the natives of Yap, the Pelew and Marianne Islanders show the same faith in the survival of the soul after death, and its power to affect the living for good or evil. The volume gives an

insight into the thought and feeling of these islanders which is of extraordinary interest, and we are glad that we may look forward to another volume devoted to the Indonesians.—*The Sense of Immortality*. By Philip Cabot. (Milford. 4s. 6d. net.) This is the Ingersoll Lecture delivered at Harvard University in 1924. Mr. Cabot dwells largely on personal experience. The tree of faith springs, he says, from the craving for immortal life or a controlling sense of duty. We stand on the threshold of a religious revival, and he urges all to take the religion of Christ as our weapon and strike home to the hearts of men. It is a fresh and helpful approach to a subject of never-failing interest.

Gnostic Fragments. By Ernesto Buonaiuti, Professor of Sacred History at the Royal University of Rome, and done into English by Edith Cowell. (Williams & Norgate. 3s. 6d. net.)

This work by a well-known expert in Gnostic thought and literature will be welcomed by students of early Christianity. A valuable introduction, ending in a bibliography of recent literature on the sources and nature of Gnosticism, is followed by original Gnostic texts, extracted chiefly from the writings of ecclesiastical scholars like Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and others. There is a chapter on 'Gnostics and Neo-Platonists,' and a translation of the Gnostic hymn from the Acts of John: the latter is transcribed as an example of the way in which the Gnostic movement inspired the legendary compositions known as apocrypha. It will be seen that, in a small compass, the book provides a quite admirable body of material for those who are interested in the beginnings of a phase of thought which has persisted to the present day. We have noted one or two errors, due probably to hasty proof-reading: e.g. néoplatonicien, p. 102 n., and in the Greek quotation, p. 49 n.: but the chief drawback is the absence of an index. It is a pity that this has been omitted from a work into which a large amount of detailed information and reference has been compressed. But we are grateful to the translator for her version of an eminent scholar's contribution to our knowledge of a theosophy which left its mark on the Church despite the vigorous polemic of the patristic defenders of the faith.

Jesus and the Greeks; or, Early Christianity in the Tideway of Hellenism. By William Fairweather, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. net.)

This volume seeks to show the relation of Christianity to Hellenism. The influence of Hellenism upon primitive Christianity cannot be disputed, but is much more limited in extent than is frequently alleged, and in no way vitally affects the substance or detracts from the essential independence of the Christian faith. Part I. in this volume deals with the world-wide diffusion of Hellenistic culture

during and after the time of Alexander the Great; Part II. with the representative Jewish Hellenist, Philo of Alexandria; and Part III. with the relation of Hellenism to early Christianity and the New Testament. Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy exhibits a peculiar combination of belief in a personal God with the platonic doctrine of Ideas, and may be described as the concrete historical embodiment of the spirit of both races. Dr. Fairweather's survey leads to the conclusion that Philo had no gospel for humanity. In comparing Hellenism, he finds that the popular philosophy of the Hellenistic period made no attempt to seek for a solution for even the most clamant social problems. It took no cognizance of the diseases of society, and no steps to heal them. In whatever aspect it is regarded, Christianity means freshness, originality, new life. It places religion on a new basis—that of the historical facts of the gospel concerning the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Every need of sinful man is met in Christ the Crucified. Dr. Fairweather's volume is one of great value and sustained interest.

The Philosophy of Religion. By D. Miall Edwards, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

This is a valuable addition to the 'Library of Philosophy and Religion.' The origin of religion, viewed in the light of anthropology, shows that the primitive man lives in us still, and its historical evolution is traced in an objective way, with a minimum of philosophical interpretation. Through the apparent chaos of rites, beliefs, superstitions, sects, we can trace a line of progress. Peoples of the higher cultures have left animism, fetishism, and totemism far behind. The closing chapter, 'God and the Absolute,' shows, as Leibniz puts it, that there is perfect harmony between God as the architect of the mechanism of the world and God as the monarch of the divine city of spirit. That perfect commonwealth of spirits, united together under God's fatherly sovereignty, is the final goal of the evolutionary process under the guidance of the divine Spirit.

From the Edge of the Crowd: being Musings of a Pagan Mind on Jesus Christ. By Arthur John Gossip, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. net.)

One needs the restraint of a Greek to speak of this volume in measured language. It is a book of sermons that is positively unique in its distinction: full of high wisdom, which is instinct with beauty and charm. In the keenness of its insight, in the breadth and sanity of its thought, in the grace of its literary beauty, in the clearness of its exposition, in its absolutely unaffected brilliance, it is not only worthy of a place in the great series of which it forms a part, but can stand beside any volume of sermons that we know without the

least sense of unworth or inferiority. It is a book by itself, the fine fruitage of a rarely disciplined mind, and of a spirit that not only knows the way to the highest, but often tarries there in rapt communion with God. It is enriched by intimate knowledge of divine things, and holds the secret of a compelling interest and attraction. The very title of the book is alluring, the sub-title surprises and excites, and the titles of some of the sermons are positively fascinating. What lover of sermons could resist such themes as these : 'God's Love of Gallantry,' 'The Sixth Sense,' 'Rusting Grace,' 'For those who have Stopped Trying,' 'The Message of Jesus the Layman,' to give but a little handful of them ? And if the titles are attractive that is but a dim prophecy of the attraction of the sermons themselves, which treat of really great things with that simplicity which is the sign and proof of the greatest art, with a literary allusiveness and reference, and with a sincerity which is most impressive. The whole book—for one of its chief characteristics is the high level of the whole—is marked by a freshness of appreciation ; a breadth of outlook ; a clear reading of the secret of the human soul, with its imperious hungers and its undying thirst, its ailings and perils ; and by a profound faith in the gospel of Jesus as the sole satisfaction of human need. This is a book to read and to re-read. Its high standard may baffle, but it will inspire, and everywhere it is set for the defence of the pulpit, for comfort and sure strength. Like two of his most distinguished predecessors in the series of 'The Scholar as Preacher,' we hope Mr. Gossip will hasten to add a second volume to a great and noble series of sermons, for he who has such rare gifts must recognize that he has a larger responsibility than can be discharged by a ministry to a single Church. His gifts are intended for the Commonwealth of Israel.

The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. By Ernest F. Scott, D.D.
(Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

The Professor of New Testament Criticism in Union Theological Seminary holds that the more we examine the moral teaching of Jesus the more we become aware that it was only the other side of His religious message, and must stand or fall along with it. 'The ethical teaching has not only preserved the identity of our religion, but has linked it, under all its changing forms, with its Founder.' Professor Scott brings out clearly the old and the new in the ethic of Jesus, and describes its leading features. Chapters are devoted to 'The Family,' 'Renunciation,' 'Non-Resistance,' 'Possessions,' 'Personal Virtues,' 'The New Type of Character,' and other subjects are treated in a fresh and suggestive way. The claim of the ethic of Jesus to permanent validity rests on its inner fruitfulness, its concern with the permanent needs of human life and with the highest things. He made the moral ideal one which in some measure can be realized, and sought to create in His followers a new will in harmony with the divine will.

Dean Inge's *Personal Idealism and Mysticism* (Longmans & Co., 5s. net) has just appeared in a third edition. It formed the Paddock Lectures for 1907, and the dean finds nothing in them to alter. He still doubts whether any one can be an orthodox theologian without being a Platonist. The lectures on the Logos-Christology, the Problem of Personality, and the Problem of Sin are of special interest. Civilization based on individualism has made life more difficult, he says, than it ever was before, and it now shows signs of breaking up from within. The defence of Christian Platonism is the more impressive from Dr. Inge's account of the happiness and satisfaction which he himself has found in it.—*The Church's Ancient Bible*. By S. F. Pells, Hove. The writer holds that the Latin Vulgate, being a version made from the Septuagint in the first century, is the best lexicon for the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament. He gives many interesting details as to the Septuagint, which he calls the Church's ancient Bible; discusses the sources from which Coverdale's translation was made; and gives lists of Latin versions of the Septuagint and editions of the Greek. Notes are also included on other versions and the Book of Common Prayer. The conclusion is that, 'the Septuagint being the oldest version, and undoubtedly the most authentic,' any translation ought to be made from it, and not from the Hebrew or Masoretic text; and should be compared with the other oldest authorities, the Old Latin and the Syriac. Scholars will be interested in the discussion, even where they cannot accept the views of Mr. Pells.—*The New Psychology and the Bible*. (Longmans & Co. 1s.) Major Povah, general secretary of the Church Tutorial Classes Association, delivered this lecture at a Vacation School for Old Testament Study. When modern psychology says that what is wrong with man is that he has refused to grow up, it has merely rediscovered the prophets. To them, man is suffering from what we call 'a complex,' due to his refusing to face the living God and to face himself. He cannot cure himself. He needs a psychotherapist. In stressing the importance of the unconscious mind, the New Psychologists are simply stressing what the Old Testament prophets stressed.—*Fundamental Ends of Life*. By Rufus M. Jones, LL.D. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.) Professor Jones gave these six lectures at Oberlin last February. He maintains that the fundamental end of life is living the fullest and most expansive life for which we are made. He studies the Idea of Good in Plato, The Fundamental Ends of Life in the Gospels, The Kingdom of Ends in Kant, Mystical Experience as an End, and closes with a lecture on Intrinsic Life-Values. The real end according to Christ is the kingdom of God, a spiritual organism, a fellowship bound together in co-operative love. When man sees that his nature is equipped for this he 'can live thrillingly and triumphantly.' Everything in the universe that has purpose finds its meaning expressed in God, and the experience of Him and of values proves God real. 'A value is always a revelation of God; it always

testifies to a guiding Spirit.'—*The Path of Discipleship*. By Muriel G. E. Harris. (Student Christian Movement. 3s. 6d. net.) Brief and bright letters to a friend on such themes as sincerity, patience, courage, failures, and limitations. Personal incidents are happily used, and the book is practical and racy from first to last.—*The Faith of a Teacher*. By Fanny Street, M.A. (Student Christian Movement, 3s. 6d. net), brings out the purpose of a teacher, the functions of the school, and the responsibility, qualifications, and rewards of the teacher. The writer finds, as she goes on teaching, that the great ideal is to help to develop to its fullest and finest capacity, the individual powers of each pupil. The subject is handled in a way that will quicken the zeal of teachers and give them enlarged views of their great office.—*Key to the Exercises in the late Professor A. B. Davidson's Revised Introductory Hebrew Grammar, with Explanatory Notes*. By John E. McFadyen, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. net.) Dr. Davidson repeatedly refused requests to publish such a Key as this, but it will be a boon to college students and to those who have to work alone over the Hebrew Bible. It is not intended to assist those who are careless, but to make the way easier for diligent and painstaking workers. Dr. McFadyen has added to each exercise a series of notes dealing with difficulties, explaining forms, and pointing out principles. Copious illustrations are given of the various grammatical and syntactical phenomena as they emerge. Books for further study are named, and it is hoped that the judicious use of the Key will enable teachers to give more time to the interpretation of the Bible literature. It is a valuable piece of work from an expert hand.—*Aspects of the Way*. By A. D. Martin. (Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.) These are meditations and studies on the life of Jesus Christ. The title is intended to show that religious institutions, scriptures, and doctrines are valueless unless they are instruments for establishing the contact of the soul with God. The Prologue, on the Bethlehem shepherds, leads up to ten studies of the chief stages in the life of Jesus. That on 'His Mind' appeared in this REVIEW under the title 'The Seamless Robe.' In the Epilogue, on 'The Way,' Mr. Martin says he was led to grapple with 'the question which is so intimately bound up with the interests of our moral being, What is the truth about Jesus Christ?' Our Lord's ethical self-sufficiency, His matchless benevolence, and His weeping over the city of bigots that slew Him have greatly impressed the writer. He has written a beautiful book, and it is a real aid to faith such as Thomas gained.—*Early Hebrew History and other Studies*. By H. M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B. (Robert Scott. 5s. net.) Two of these papers appeared in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, where they were very favourably received; that on 'The Biblical Doctrines of Joint Hereditary and Individual Responsibility' is added. All give evidence of the writer's legal training and mastery of Hebrew thought and language. Light is thrown on the massacre of the priests of Nob, the stories of Achan and. Naboth. It is a book that will well repay careful reading.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

London Alleys, Byways, and Courts. Drawn and described by Alan Stapleton. (John Lane. 15s. net.)

This is no ordinary book about London. It has cost much to describe and illustrate the alleys and byways, with their fine porches and winding steps, and it must have cost the publisher much to produce it. But it was worth doing. We know no work on London like it. It takes the reader away from familiar scenes to corners where history has been made and famous people have lived ; it opens stores of out-of-the-way knowledge, and lures us on from place to place, learning and wondering at every step. When Mr. Stapleton's manuscript was finished it was purloined from him, and he had a task which must have been more onerous than Carlyle's reproduction of his *French Revolution*. The drawings were safe at his publishers ; had they been stolen he was so interested in his subject that he would have gone forth and drawn them again. In Red Lion Passage, about 1770, Lord Erskine was living when he got his first brief. He defended Lord George Gordon at his trial for treason, and became, so Lord Campbell thought, 'the greatest advocate of ancient and modern times.' He was fond of pets, and his dog, with paws resting on an open folio and wearing a judge's wig, patiently waited in his chambers for clients. His strangest pets were two leeches which had saved his life by sticking to him in a time of sickness. Parson Keith's chapel has disappeared, but East and West Chapel Streets keep alive the memory of the place where 7,000 marriages were performed in twenty years. The fee was a guinea, including the licence, and on the day before the Act prohibiting clandestine marriages came into force, March 26, 1754, sixty-one marriages were registered here. Vigo Lane, named after the action of 1702, in Vigo Bay, afterwards attained the dignity of a street. Next door but one to Messrs. Lane's, the Bodley Head, is the Albany, 'the quietest tributary of Piccadilly,' where Macaulay wrote his *History*, and Bulwer Lytton, Lord Byron, Lord Clyde, and Gladstone had chambers. A different resident was Daniel Lambert, who weighed over 57 stone when he was 86 years old. Every page and every sketch in this volume has an interest of its own, and will make a strong appeal to those who wish to know London's alleys and byways. In another volume Mr. Stapleton hopes to record a few more of these alleys and courts before they disappear.

John Viscount Morley. An Appreciation and Some Reminiscences. By John H. Morgan. (John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

Brigadier-General Morgan belonged to the inner circle of Lord Morley's friends, and has attempted in these sketches to show him

as he really was. Mr. Guy Morley, his nephew and executor, regards it as 'a most just and friendly portrait,' and it certainly throws much welcome light on one of the most interesting figures of the past generation. Lord Morley himself said 'History always misleads,' but here, as Dryden put it, we 'are led into the private lodgings of the hero and see him in his undress.' He loved power and enjoyed its exercise. 'There were few high offices of State to which he did not, at one time or another, aspire.' His characterizations of ministerial colleagues would make a piquant and disturbing volume, and, though his friend says nothing would induce him to write it, we can judge what it would have been, from conversations here recorded. Lord Morley regarded Disraeli as a great statesman. 'Look at his vision of democracy, his Reform Bill, his views on the Civil War. And look at his courage!' His speech vindicating the Jews made Lord John Russell say to his neighbours on the Front Bench: 'What courage! There is not a man on the Tory benches around him but doesn't disapprove of every word he says.' One of the most illuminating chapters is that headed 'Causeries.' He had a great admiration, and something very like affection, for Winston Churchill, and said in December, 1921: 'I foresee the day when Birkenhead will be Prime Minister in the Lords, with Winston leading the Commons. They will make a formidable pair. Winston tells me Birkenhead has the best brain in England.' Kitchener hoped to be Viceroy, and King Edward favoured that appointment, but Morley would not hear of it, and appointed Hardinge, though the King urged that he was a diplomatist, not an administrator. General Morgan does not hesitate to criticize his friend's opinions and actions, but he brings out his wonderful tenderness, his passion for truth and justice. 'No man knew better how to feel for human frailty and error. Hence a sympathy with his kind, almost feminine in its delicacy, and more than masculine in its strength; to many a wounded spirit did he bring words of assuagement and of peace. No kinder heart nor one more sensitive ever sweetened the intercourse of life.' As to religion, 'he could respect a faith he did not share, provided always that it had its roots in conviction.' If he had been at Oxford in Newman's day he said 'I think I should have joined him.' No one can form an adequate conception of Lord Morley and his work who does not study this intimate and discriminating estimate.

The Pope. By Jean Carrère. Translated by Arthur Chambers. (Hutchinson. 18s. net.)

This is an interesting but unequal book. The earlier portion is, in the main, historical; it is, in fact, an attempt to justify the papal claims in the light of the facts of history. The later portion is a discussion of the present problem arising out of the uneasy relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal, and attempts to find a solution. This latter part is of much greater value than the opening portion.

This is hardly a matter for wonder, as any attempt to justify the claims of the Papacy on historical grounds is encumbered with difficulties from the outset; difficulties which, in our opinion, are quite insuperable. M. Carrère's *apologia* begins with St. Peter, and commences, strikingly enough, with that apostle's denial of his Lord. This, it now appears, was in no real sense a denial at all. Peter's fears were not for himself, but only lest it should be put out of his power to aid his Master. Confession might have led to his ejection, if not his arrest. Hence his apparent denial was but an act of policy, and the impression which we gather from the gospel narratives is altogether misleading. True, on this assumption, it is a little difficult to account for Peter's tears. M. Carrère does, indeed, attempt to do this, but with indifferent effect, failing to carry conviction. This is but one of the points on which we find ourselves at issue with the author in respect of his historical work. There is, for instance, a little too much of the 'Daniel come to judgement' attitude in his treatment of historic fact; sentence is given clearly enough, but the reader will look in vain for the evidence upon which it is based. It is easy to say, concerning the Papacy, that the weapons of its warfare are 'verbal persuasion and the moral power of an ideal of love and faith,' but it is equally easy to question the statement and to ask for proofs: no proofs are forthcoming, nor are some obvious objections met. Still more true is this of the remark that, 'whatever may have been the errors of the Pope, he was, none the less, the Vicar of Christ.' Dogmatic assertion upon a point like this, for it is vital, is nothing less than a begging of the question with reference to a matter which demands little less than absolute proof. Again, the famous Canossa incident is acclaimed as 'the perpetual victory' of the Papacy, in contrast to 'ephemeral victories' such as 'Salamis, Pharsalus, and Bouvines . . . and Waterloo.' This is sheer nonsense; for these 'ephemeral victories' were far more really epoch-making than 'the perpetual victory' of Canossa, a great personal triumph for Gregory VII which only thinly veiled political defeat; Canossa, moreover, was more than avenged at Anagni. These are just one or two points, chosen almost at random, which serve to indicate why we cannot but regard the historical portion of M. Carrère's work as less than satisfactory. Turning to the later portion of the volume, we may say at once that it appears to us to be of much greater value, and is of the deepest interest. Nearer in time to the events, and in touch with some of the principal actors therein, M. Carrère writes with some authority. He regards the question, of course, from the standpoint of the Vatican, but at the same time displays much fairness in his treatment, and shows no lack of appreciation of the difficulties which embarrass the Quirinal in relation thereto, and recognizes that, from the Italian point of view, the obstacles in the way of a settlement are by no means unreasonable. In other words, he makes clear that Church and Kingdom alike can make out a case, hence the extreme difficulty in the way of a mutually satisfactory adjustment of all outstanding differences. But the

impression that one gets from M. Carrère's examination of the whole question is that the differences are becoming less acute, that in Italy itself the question is no longer exactly a 'burning' one, and that it is not altogether extravagant to hope that eventually a settlement may be reached.

Piracy in the Ancient World. By H. A. Ormerod, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

The new volume of 'The Ancient World' is a study issued by the University Press of Liverpool of Mediterranean piracy, by the Professor of Greek in the University of London. The French work on piracy, by Sestier, is uncritical and contains many inaccuracies; this is a complete and scholarly study of the whole subject. The six chapters deal with Depredations on Sea; Piracy, Privateering, and Reprisals; The Eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Wars, and from 480 to 200 B.C.; The Western Seas, the Adriatic and Rome; The Pirates of Cilicia; The Empire. The rocky and barren coasts of the Mediterranean are peculiarly favourable to the development of piracy. In some parts piracy was endemic. The poverty of the soil led the inhabitants to become hunters and brigands rather than agriculturists, and the same pursuits were followed at sea. Plundering raids were made on shore, and individuals were kidnapped. If ransom was not forthcoming the victim's inevitable lot was slavery. In hours of danger the pirates had recourse to all kinds of superstition, when secure they indulged in the most horrid blasphemies. Perhaps the only times when the whole Mediterranean has been free from the scourge have been the early centuries of the Roman Empire and our own day. We see from these pages how great the influence of piracy was on the ancient world. It is a study of very unusual interest.

The Making of Modern India. By Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.Litt. (H. Milford. 7s. 6d. net.)

This book seeks to provide some material by which to estimate the character of the forces that are making the new India, and the direction in which they are carrying her. They are of many kinds—political, social, religious. Some of the most powerful are the ancient forms of thought which modern influences are modifying but by no means eliminating; and at the centre of these are the outstanding personalities who are leading their people into the unknown land of to-morrow. Dr. Macnicol gives an estimate of the political situation in 1908 and 1913; then he describes the social and religious unrest; explains the ideas of Hinduism; gives informing estimates of personalities such as Mohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore, and some notable Indian Christians. His last section, on Unchanging India, dwells on two cults of Popular Hinduism and The Diversions of an Indian Village. India has scarcely begun to pass Christian teaching through its own mind. The Christian leaders have scarcely begun

to undertake any task of positive construction, but Sadhu Sundar Singh 'passes through India like a magnet, attracting souls.' In his quiet dignity and his complete unworldliness he seems 'to reveal what India may be when Christ obtains complete possession of her heart.' Dr. Macnicol knows his subject well, and his book is illuminating from first to last.

Some Masters of Spanish Verse. By James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, F.B.A. (H. Milford. 8s. net.) This volume belongs to the series of Notes and Monographs published for the Hispanic Society of America. Spanish literature has a poignant, merciless clangour, mingled with a mystic *abandon*. It combines verbal melody with martial clangour. Gonzalo de Berceo is one of its forerunners, and to them the first study is given. Garcí Lasso de la Vega, with his dulcet melody, and Lope de Vega, who seeks to dazzle by force rather than by verbal beauty, have chapters to themselves, and St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross are studied together as Two Mystic Poets. There are also chapters on Gondora and some later poets. It is a little book that will open the eyes of its readers to the charm of Spanish poetry, and many will be grateful to the writer for putting his knowledge at their service in such a pleasant way.—*Richard Baxter, Puritan and Mystic.* By A. R. Ladell, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) Baxter was a Puritan, strong in mind, moderate in practice. The true greatness of the man was revealed at Kidderminster, by an overwhelming conviction of the gravity and eternal importance of his charge, and by a perennial love. He was sternly intolerant of the opinions of those who differed from him, and as harsh in his judgements as he was sincere in his abhorrence. His work as the prophet of Puritanism, and as a writer, is well described in this able, well-timed study.—*Miller of Ruchill,* by J. Sommerville Smith, M.A. (Glasgow : Thomson & Cowan, 8s. 6d. net), is the story of a Glasgow ministry which brought light and healing to hundreds of working men and women. Mr. Miller was a singularly effective temperance worker, a Sunday-school enthusiast. He took charge of the church in 1905, and did a wonderful evangelistic work there till his death last May. Professor Carnegie Simpson described him as 'one of the truest and bravest, straightest and cleanest men I have ever known.' This bright biography shows how fitting that estimate was.—*The Son of a Savage*, by R. C. Nicholson (Epworth Press, 8s. net), is a beautiful sketch of a young convert in the Solomon Isles. He was the writer's constant companion for fifteen years, and one's heart warms to him from the first. He was a noble fellow, and his early death was a heavy loss to the Mission and to his girl wife.

GENERAL

A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne. By Evelyn M. Simpson, D.Phil. (Clarendon Press. 15s. net.)

THE writer originally planned a volume on Donne's Sermons, for which an Associates' Research Fellowship at Newnham College enabled her to do the preliminary reading. War work compelled her to lay this project aside, and since she has taken it up she has widened the scheme to include all the prose works of Donne. Her work gained the Doctorate of Philosophy at Oxford in 1922. Donne's prose works as a whole are only accessible in their original editions, or in a very unsatisfactory reprint by Alford in 1889. His prose is marked by his intense individuality and the same agility of intellect, the same intensity of imagination. 'The delight in paradox, and in the discovery of "occult resemblances between things apparently unlike," the somewhat cynical attitude towards women, the tendency to casuistry, above all, the irresistible attraction towards the idea of death—these are the elements of Donne's prose work as of his poetry.' Dr. Simpson gives a sketch of Donne's life which shows that, when Mr. Gosse condemned him for complicity in the shameful intrigue of the Countess of Essex, he was confusing him with Sir Daniel Donne or Dunne, the Dean of Arches. James I first inclined Donne to be a minister, and showed him special favour. Originality and audacity marked his poetry, and, in a lesser degree, his prose also. His devotion to his wife, his mother, and his children showed that there was 'plenty of affection in his life.' He was the most famous preacher in an age of great preachers, and his sermons entitle him to a place among the greatest masters of English prose. He is a master of the long paragraph, and felicitous short phrases linger in the memory. A note of intense personal religious experience gives the Sermons their unique power. He 'never glosses over the sinfulness of his past life, but, in the fact that God has had mercy on his own soul, he sees encouragement and hope for the most despairing of his hearers.' His character is revealed in his letters, which conceal nothing, for friendship was his 'second religion.' Dr. Simpson's volume embodies a wealth of research which entitles it to a foremost place in the Donne library.

Chambers's Encyclopaedia. Edited by David Patrick, LL.D., and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. Vol. V. (W. & R. Chambers. 20s. net.)

This volume begins with the small French town of Frejus, and ends with the famous brothers Humboldt. It has more than 840 double-column pages in neat and small but distinct print, and is handsomely bound in scarlet covers with gilt back. We now have half of the ten volumes into which the new edition is to run. It has a thousand contributors, who are all authorities on the subjects they deal with. There are 30,000 articles, over 8,500 engravings, and a splendid set

of coloured maps. 'Germany' has eighteen pages and a two-page map. Due attention is given to the revolutionary movement which followed its defeat in the Great War. Greece also has eighteen pages and two maps. The three columns headed 'Gnat' are by Sir Ronald Ross and H. J. Carter. The biographies of statesmen are brought up to date: natural history and invention are adequately treated, and no one will regret having this Encyclopaedia in daily use. It is both complete and compact.

Milton's Poems. 1645. Type-facsimile. (Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

This reprint is made as near to facsimile of the edition of 1645 as the resources of the Press allow. It was set up from rotographs of the Bodleian copy, and the proofs were compared with the three copies in the British Museum. The purpose has been to put into readers' hands a book as closely resembling as may be that which Milton saw. A few misprints have been corrected, and readings of the 1678 edition are cited where they appear to correct a misprint of 1645. One thousand copies have been printed on linen-rag paper, with wide margins. Milton's portrait appears, and the address of Humphrey Moseley the stationer is given, with his claim to have brought 'into the light as true a Birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spenser wrote, will be fully endorsed by all who have the good fortune to secure a copy of this beautiful edition of the English and Latin poems.

Homer's Odyssey. By H. B. Cotterill. (Harrap. 7s. 6d. net.) This is a line-for-line translation, in the metre of the original, which appeared in quarto, on thick paper, with fine printing and luxurious illustration, in 1911. Dr. Walter Leaf welcomes the cheap edition, for he has always felt that 'the matter of the book was such as no external adornment could improve, and its intrinsic excellence should carry its own advertisement.' His prejudice against the use of hexameters has been largely overcome by Mr. Cotterill's work. He has 'found a metre which gives us a good measure of the rapidity and freedom of Homer, while, at the same time, it allows of a line-for-line translation of complete fidelity to the original, and devoid of any affectation. One can ask for no better.' That is high praise from a great authority. In his Preface Mr. Cotterill tells how he first conceived the wish to translate the *Odyssey* in Central Africa, where Homer, Dante, Shakespeare were often his only companions, save his faithful blacks. After much examination, he settled on an accentual hexameter as the only fitting English measure for his translation. Eminent scholars have told him how close his version keeps to the Greek. It is a pleasure to read the translation, and we have no doubt it will win popular favour, as it has won that of scholars and critics.

Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations, by M. F. Price, Ph.D. (Probstain & Co.), is 'a study in Culture-Contact' which shows how missionary propaganda affects non-Christian peoples. The reactions

of both individuals and groups are described and analysed, and the place taken by rumour, curiosity, and other feelings is measured. The rejection of Christianity, due to indifference, and the passive and active opposition to it, are dwelt on, and the plausible reasons for rejection are weighed in the balances. The approving and disapproving influences working in the pre-convert receive special attention. It is an expert study, which has grown out of personal service in China, and it makes 'foreign missions, even for the layman, assume an international importance equal to that of foreign trade or foreign politics.'

The Solution of Unemployment, or The Postulates and Implications of the Social Credit Theorems of Major C. H. Douglas, M.I.M.E. By W. H. Wakinshaw, M.A. (Newcastle : Reid & Co. 10s. net.) Major Douglas holds that the end and aim of an economic system is to provide goods and service for the Many, rather than profit and power for the Few ; that Money is nothing else but Goods-Tickets, which should move *pari-passu* with the net gain in the production of new goods ; and that to avoid deflation or inflation the appropriate adjustment must be made in the price. Mr. Wakinshaw opens up this subject in a luminous way, and reaches the conclusion that, 'with price-control, capable as it is of infinite and exquisite adjustment, the productive system can function by the delivery of goods, rather than the manufacture of "money" for the few and misery for the many.' Mr. Wakinshaw says that to-day we have to contest 'the Morgan Pool, seeking to put shackles of gold upon the world.' There is much knowledge and strong conviction behind the whole study, and it well deserves the attention of students of a complicated and pressing problem.

The Story of British Annelids. By Hilderic Friend. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.) The writer began his studies in this subject at Carlisle in 1890, when only two men in the country knew much about it, and even the British Museum catalogue of worms had only three entirely reliable descriptions out of eighteen. He has worked with extraordinary skill and diligence on the subject, and his book is full of information which will open the eyes of many to the wonders of a by-path in the world of science which is of the deepest interest. It is a pleasure to follow his descriptions, and to study his coloured plates and black-and-white illustrations.—*Gambling and Betting.* By R. H. Charles, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 1s. 6d. net.) Those who have already secured Canon Green's little book on this subject will do well to add this to it. It defines gambling as an appeal to chance with a view to pleasure or gain, shows its universality, and describes some English legislation against it. Canon Charles feels that moral action itself is ineffective, and lays emphasis on the elimination of the gambling spirit by religion. Such a book, from such a man, will be of very great service.—*Four Scientific Principles.* By Sheldon Knapp. (Hull : Freswell. 2s. 6d. net.) Mr. Knapp has studied

these principles for the last twenty years, and finds them increasingly useful as an aid towards accurate thinking. We fully agree with him that 'seeing God's hand in everything, trusting Him fully always, and saying and doing everything in the spirit of love' are the subjects of which Wesley's great translations from the German are full. The book has illustrations by the author, assisted by various young artists.—*The New Children's Annuals. Hullo, Boys! Hullo, Girls!* (Cecil Palmer. 8s. net each.) These two Annuals are crowded with pictures and stories which are wonderfully amusing. They are well styled 'A Budget of Good Things by the Uncles (the Aunties) on the Wireless.' The pages are printed in different coloured inks, and there is a wealth of fancy in the pictures which will delight little folk. Bindings, end-papers, portraits of the authors, all combine to swell the general effect and keep excitement and attention on full stretch from cover to cover.—Mr. Allenson publishes, at half a crown each, *The Dragon at the Last Bridge*, by A. Stanley Parker; and *The Naughty Comet*, by Laura E. Richards. Mrs. Richards' stories and rhymes speak for themselves, for they have reached a third edition. Mr. Parker's talks to children will delight small folk, and be of service to all who have to talk to them.—*Thought Sprinklers*, by Harold Wheen (Epworth Press, 8s. net), comes from the General Secretary of the Young People's Department in New South Wales. It opens with 'Stories of Jesus,' and makes many happy suggestions as to ways in which interest may be aroused and the help of the boys and girls secured. There is a real storehouse here for profitable lessons for young folk.—*Round the World in Folk Tales*. By Rachel M. Fleming. (Batsford. 2s. net.) Sixteen short folk stories from various countries, with seventeen illustrations, and an Introduction which brings out their meaning. We see how Australia suffered from drought, and learn how highly the bridge-builder was honoured in Russia. The change which Christianity wrought in Iceland and in Brittany comes out in the stories. They are tales that will stir a child's imagination, and excite its interest in children of other ages.—*The Nonsense of Neutrality*. By D. C. Mitchell, M.A. (Glasgow: Thomson & Cowan. 8s. 6d. net.) These sermons were preached to the largest United Free Church congregation in Scotland. They get hold of one's attention with the first sentence, and never let it flag. They are well illustrated, admirably clear and direct, and on subjects that themselves excite interest.

A letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. (Longmans & Co. 3d.) Bishop Knox sent this letter with a memorial, signed by 804,500 adult communicants of the Church of England, against changes in the Communion Service and against alternative Communion Services. The case is well and clearly stated. The reunion of Christendom for which the bishop looks centres round devotion to the living Christ, which will bring all human wills into subjection to the divine.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Journal of Theological Studies (October).—The subject of the first article is the Woman and the Man-Child in Rev. xii. Dr. G. H. Dix, in a discussion as interesting as it is erudite, argues that the mother of the man-child represented the Divine-Wisdom, and that her son symbolized the Logos, the two figures being well known in Jewish apocalyptic circles. The editor, Dr. C. H. Turner, continues his notes on 'Marcan Usage,' in this number dealing with *φέρειν* and the prepositions *ἐν* and *ἐπί*. Rev. I. H. Baxter discusses at length the questions that arise concerning the 'Martyrs of Madaura' in A.D. 180, and finds them to be *circumcellionae* of about the middle of the fourth century. Mgr. P. Batifre replies in French to an article by Jülicher on the LVIII. Canon of the Council of Elvira. Professor Burkitt writes on Isaac of Nineveh, 'a milestone on the melancholy road whereby the Orient lapsed from Christianity into an unprogressive, uninventive barbarism, in which not even philosophy continued to flourish.' Other articles are on 'St. Gregory of Nyssa,' his vocabulary and style, 'Georgian Theological Literature,' by R. P. Blake, 'Optatus,' by N. H. Baynes. The Review of Books are varied and interesting.

Hibbert Journal (January).—The opening article contains the substance of an address delivered by Professor James Ward to the Cambridge Theological Society, last November, on 'The Christian Ideas of Faith and Eternal Life.' There is no need to point out either the fruitfulness of the subject or the ability of the writer. Mr. Edmond Holmes contributes a second article on 'Our Debt to the Ancient Wisdom of India,' in which he seeks to enlighten poor benighted Westerns as to the meaning and blessedness of Nirvana. Mrs. Stuart Moore (better known as Evelyn Underhill) describes our 'Twofold Relation to Reality'—the historical, natural, and contingent; and the timeless, supernatural, and absolute. These two 'must be welded together if we are to provide a frame for all the possibilities of human life.' The Editor propounds a 'Philosophy of Labour,' and shows the importance of work being justly *done*, as well as justly *paid for*. A most instructive article is contributed by Dr. C. F. Thwing on 'Ruling Ideas in America.' It deserves to be carefully read and noted. 'An Ominous Cloud,' by Sir H. Russell, refers to the present condition of Japan and the British plans for a great Singapore base. Professor S. Alexander's article on 'The Artistry of Truth,' Mrs. MacCunn's account of the 'St. Joan' of Charles Péguy, Canon Streeter's paper on 'Dream Symbolism,' and 'Francis William Newman,' by J. R. Mozley, are valuable contributions to the varied interest of a number which well sustains the standard of this Journal.

Holborn Review (January).—In the first article Dr. Rendel Harris introduces 'a new St. Theresa,' who is likely to be 'beatified' and 'canonized' by the Roman Catholic Church. She is known as 'Ste. Thérèse of the Child Jesus and of the Holy Face.' The account of her makes a curious and pathetic little story, and we can only agree with Dr. Harris that 'hagiology is an awfully difficult science to co-ordinate with history.' Rev. E. W. Smith illustrates the Greek conception of 'The Avengers' or Furies by some of the ideas of tribes in North Rhodesia. Dr. Otto's *Idea of the Holy* receives appreciative but discriminating exposition from Rev. R. Ferguson. Interesting articles are 'The Theology of Robinson Crusoe,' the 'Story of a Great Italian' (Mazzini), by Rev. T. A. Thompson, B.Sc., and 'The Rationale of Christian Experience,' by A. V. Murray, M.A. But the value of this REVIEW cannot be justly estimated by its longer articles alone. The Editorial Notes, covering a dozen closely printed pages, and a survey of Current Literature, in which the editor is assisted by a band of able helpers, taken together, form one of its chief and most excellent features. Readers of this REVIEW are thus kept well abreast of the best modern theology by highly competent guides.

The Expositor (December and January).—In the 'Ten Best Books' series of articles, which has aroused considerable interest, Dr. Professor H. R. Mackintosh deals with Miracle, and Dr. G. W. Wade with the Apostolic Age. The former is the more difficult task of the two, as well as the more important, but both articles are timely and useful. Dr. J. H. Flowers follows up his comments on the Second Commandment, and Professor I. H. Michael, of Toronto, contributes a suggestive exposition of 'Work out your own Salvation,' which he would apply not to the individual, but the community. Other articles in the December number are by Dr. Rendel Harris on 'The Diatessaron and the Testimony Book,' and Professor H. I. Cadbury on John i. 18 and Heb. xi. 11. In the January number Dr. Emery Barnes writes on 'Bible and Koran,' and Dr. J. P. Naish contributes a first article on 'The Book of John and the Early Persian Period.' We are glad that the editor is returning to a subject in which he has in the past proved himself a master—literary *illustrati* of Scripture passages. Here he deals with 1 Corinthians, and gives us a dozen interesting pages on chaps. i.-iv. The Editorial Notes on Current Issues are marked by timely wisdom, and the Notes and Notices of Current Criticism—in this number on *Prophecy and Sacrifice* by Rev. James Logan, M.A.—are just such as Bible students welcome.

Expository Times (December).—The Editor's Notes of Recent Exposition deal with Professor Welch's *Code of Deuteronomy*, Miss Royden on The Church and Woman, and Dr. Percy Dearmer on Art and Religion. Professor Macfadyen contributes an instructive article on 'Telescoped History,' illustrating one important difference

between the biblical conception of history and our own. Biblical historians, as he shows, 'omit or suppress thousands of facts which would have been of profoundest interest to us,' because their writing is controlled by a purpose, viz. 'to justify to men the ways of God, as they understood them.' Dr. J. A. Hutton, of Westminster Chapel, in an article, 'When ye pray, say, Our Father,' deals in timely fashion with the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God in relation to the life of to-day. Rev. J. S. McArthur contributes a paper on 'The Words of the Hymn of Jesus.' The sections on Literature and 'In the Study' are interesting, as usual. (January).—The January number opens with an instalment of the editor's interesting Notes, dealing with Dr. Moffatt's new *Old Testament*, and 'Religion and Education,' edited by the Dean of Bristol. There follows an informing article on 'Recent Egyptian Discoveries,' written by Professor Sir W. Flinders Petrie. An impressive sermon by the Dean of St. Paul's on 'The Justice of God,' and an article describing a 'Lacuna in the Acts of the Apostles,' by Dr. Rendel Harris, help to make up a good number.

Science Progress (January) devotes its first pages to 'Recent Advances in Science,' and has interesting papers on the Rev. Abraham Bennet, the inventor of the gold-leaf electroscope, who died in 1799. The editor, in his inaugural address to the Royal Medical Society, deals with recent medical discoveries, and emphasizes the wisdom of spending much more money in learning to fight diseases of all kinds.

Congregational Quarterly (January).—Dr. Tennant, writing on 'The Doctrine of the Trinity,' propounds a view that he thinks has a 'philosophical value which the monarchian theory lacks, in that it makes the Personality of God more comprehensible.' 'Was Darwin's Life Crippled?' by J. F. Mozley, holds that he allowed the balance of his nature to become unequal; he saw things a little askew. Mr. Macfadyen's 'Jacob Böhme' describes his philosophy as a philosophy of life. God is a Wrestling Power. The Editorial Notes are valuable.

The Pilgrim (January).—In 'The Social Function of the Church,' the Bishop of Winchester says that 'Now, if ever, the Body Politic needs the purifying action of "the salt of the earth" (to use the phrase which the Highest Authority applied to His Church). Democracy needs inspiring and educating. Nationalism needs redirecting away from ideals of selfish ambition into more Christian ways of service.' A kindred article is that on 'The Christian Law,' by Mr. Binyon. Bishop Temple's Notes deal with important current events, and he has an article on 'St. Joan, Shakespeare, and Bernard Shaw.' 'Religion and School-Religion' is another timely article.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago) (November and December).—The President of the University of Chicago, Dr. E. D. Burton, opens this number with a timely discussion of the present-day relations between religion and education. Dr. Burton is a scholar of the first rank, and an active man of affairs as well. His testimony as to the needs of the present situation is very significant. Professor Shirley Case's article on 'The Religious Meaning of the Past' is most concerned with the religious meaning of the present. But the past is not to be wholly neglected. Professor George Cross, of Rochester Seminary, discusses 'a somewhat widespread dissatisfaction with the traditional Christology,' and criticizes Bishop Gore's recent book on the subject. Professor Cross pleads, in what he conceives to be the interests of the Christian religion itself, for the justification of what he calls the modern 'revolt.' The subject of Fundamentalism is still a burning one. A Baptist pastor, R. A. Ashworth, here deals with the significance of the movement among the Baptists. Another article, suggested by the comments of an English clergyman, emphasizes the need of a richer and fuller cultivation of worship in American Protestantism.

Methodist Review (November and December).—The editor of this Review always provides an attractive bill of fare, with dishes widely diversified. In this number Professor Hargitt, of Syracuse University, deals with 'Problems of Science and Faith.' A thoughtful paper on 'Prophecy and Apocalyptic,' by Rev. A. R. King, shows how Jesus combined 'the hope of the Apocalypticist with prophetic conceptions of God and history'; Dr. C. T. Craig follows with a paper on 'Socialism and Apocalyptic.' 'Peace, Pacifism, and Christianity,' by Dr. Balch, and 'The Reaction of the War upon the Negro,' by Dr. Melden, deal with the same important topic from differing points of view. Other articles are on 'The Need of a Radical Protestantism,' 'Puritan Influence on American Literature' and 'The Gospel of Country Life.' What are styled in this Review Editorial Departments contain a good deal of practical instruction. Some of the titles of papers speak for themselves—'Does God Have and Use a Sword?' 'How Christ Reveals God,' and 'Thoughts on War, by John Wesley.' Much careful work is put into the Notices of Books, interesting chiefly on the other side of the Atlantic, but instructive to readers everywhere.

The Princeton Theological Review (October) is a particularly strong and good one. The first article, by Professor C. W. Hodge, on 'The Person of Christ in Recent Religious Philosophy,' discusses Otto's *Idea of the Holy*, and Professor Karl Heim of Tübingen's work on the 'Significance of the Historical Jesus for Faith.' Dr. Hodge's criticisms of the speculations of these two able German writers are acute and well timed. Professor J. Gresham Machen, whose work on St. Paul is well known to British

students, vigorously assails Dr. McGiffert's description of 'The God of the Early Christians.' The charges brought by Professor Machen against current teaching are too sweeping, as when he denounces the 'antitheistic religion of the present day, popularised by preachers like Dr. Fosdick,' but Dr. Machen puts his finger upon some weak spots in modern theology where healing ointment is called for. Other articles, each instructive in its own way, are 'Secular and Regular Canons during the Middle Ages,' by L. C. McKinney, 'Philosophical View of Space in Relation to Omnipresence,' by F. D. Jenkins, and 'The General Assemblies of Scotland,' by S. W. Beach.

Harvard Theological Review.—More than half of the October number is given to the first part of what promises to be an exhaustive discussion of 'The Rise of Normative Judaism,' by Professor G. F. Moore. It traces the history 'to the Reorganization at Jamnia,' maintaining that 'Judaism is a normal development of the old religion of Israel in new circumstances, and adapted to new conditions.' Dr. Moore's contention is 'that, whatever critics may opine about the literary history of the Levitical law, it did not create a new kind of religion.' Dr. F. R. Tennant writes on 'Theism and Laws of Nature'; the conclusion of a closely reasoned argument is that 'the reign of law, such as we find and such as is not to be confounded with its pseudo-scientific travesties, is one of the strongest links in the chain which binds scientific knowledge to religious faith.' Dr. George B. King investigates the Talmudic texts which illustrate our Lord's saying about the mote and the beam (Matt. viii. 8-5): 'There is a strong probability' that, in the first clause, the original reading was 'your teeth,' and not 'your eyes'; this involves the change of only a single letter—*Ayin* to *Shin*. The meaning would then be 'remove the splinter from between your teeth,' the contrast being between a small fragment of wood and an immensely large timber. Dr. Moffatt renders 'splinter,' but is not so happy—Dr. King holds—in changing 'beam' to 'plank.'

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (January).—'Burma and Burman Life' is a lecture delivered in Rangoon by B. M. Barua. He thinks that the real history of Buddhism in Burma began where it ended in Egypt. Burman life contains 'a contribution of all that is best in Hinduism and Buddhism.' The pagodas are open to all. 'People think the Burman is most beautiful when he says his prayer. They are mistaken. He does not pray but praises. He praises the expansion of human heart and infinite grace and nobility in the life of the Buddha, the enlightened master, who yet receives homage from at least forty-five crores of his votaries.' The lecture is thought-provoking, but Buddhism seems to have little to offer its adherents.

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